SAMUEL JOHNSON

THE COMPLETE
POEMS OF
SAMUEL JOHNSON

EDITED BY
ROBERT D. BROWN AND
ROBERT DeMARIA, JR.

THE COMPLETE POEMS OF SAMUEL JOHNSON

This definitive edition, the first since 1974, presents all the poetry of Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), including his play, *Irene*, with detailed, wide-ranging commentary. It has been expertly edited with attention to the extant manuscripts and all relevant printings.

The volume includes the entirety of Johnson's verse in all its generic diversity: including satire, ode, elegy, verse drama, and verse prayer. The poems are presented in their original spelling and punctuation with extensive commentary on their literary background—biblical, classical, and modern—as well as careful explanation of unusual words, allusions to historical figures, and references to contemporary events that appear in the poems. Proceeding chronologically, this edition also situates Johnson's verse in the context of his life from his early days in Lichfield to his career as an author in London.

Unlike all earlier editions, the present offering provides full translations of all the Latin and Greek poems on which Johnson based so much of his English verse. Correspondingly, it provides the English poems which some of his Latin verse translates. Neither in the presentation of the verse nor in the commentary does this edition assume a command of foreign languages: it aims to be useful for all students of Samuel Johnson's poetry.

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THE COMPLETE POEMS OF SAMUEL JOHNSON

EDITED BY

ROBERT D. BROWN AND ROBERT DEMARIA, JR.

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A Note from the General Editors

The Longman Annotated English Poets series was launched in 1965 with the publication of Kenneth Allott's edition of *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*. F.W. Bateson wrote then that the 'new series is the first designed to provide university students and teachers, and the general reader with complete and fully annotated editions of the major English poets'. That remains the aim of the series, and Bateson's original vision of its policy remains essentially the same. Its 'concern is primarily with the meaning of the extant texts in their various contexts'.

Accordingly, the annotation which the various editors provide ranges from the glossing of obscure words and references to the evocation of the cultural, social, and political contexts within which the poems were created and first received. The editions draw on recent scholarship but also embody the fruits of the editors' own new research. The aim, in so far as this is possible through the medium of editorial annotation, is to place the modern reader in a position which approximates that enjoyed by the poems' first audience.

The treatment of the text has varied pragmatically from edition to edition; some have provided modernized texts where the original conventions of spelling and punctuation were likely to create problems for a reader, whereas others retain the original accidentals—the spelling, punctuation, italics, and capitals.

Samuel Johnson is one of the towering figures of English literature, but his poems have not always received the attention which they deserve. This new edition of Johnson's poems is the most complete ever to have appeared. As usual with the Longman editions it provides extensive explanatory and contextual annotation as well as source material. For the first time it presents Johnson's two great imitations of Juvenal (*London* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*) alongside the Latin originals and a modern prose translation, so that readers can study in detail Johnson's creative transformation of the originals. Another notable feature is the edition's attention to Johnson's friendships and literary circle, and there is a full contextualization of the numerous epigraphs to Johnson's periodical essays. Johnson emerges from this volume as a poet of great skill, wit, and moral insight.

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Preface

In his 'Life' of Alexander Pope, Johnson remarked that 'He considered poetry as the business of his life, and however he might seem to lament his occupation, he followed it with constancy; to make verses was his first labour, and to mend them was his last' (Yale, 23.1184). In saying this, Johnson makes a silent contrast with his own approach to poetry, which he amplifies shortly thereafter when he compares his method of composition to Pope's: 'The method of Pope … was to write his first thoughts in his first words, and gradually to amplify, decorate, rectify, and refine them.' Johnson, although he does not say it outright, was clearly one of those who 'employ at once memory and invention, and, with little intermediate use of the pen, form and polish large masses by continued meditation, and write their productions only when, in their own opinion, they have completed them' (Yale, 23.1185). Johnson's autograph manuscripts, where they exist, show that he was not quite finished with his poems when he wrote them down, but the contrast with Pope's method is valid. It has important implications for textual editors, which we will discuss later in this preface, but the difference between Johnson and Pope as poets goes even deeper than their methods of composition and applies to the word 'business' in another sense.

Both Pope and Johnson were consummate professional writers. Pope made his reputation and his living almost entirely as a poet, and he attended with the utmost care to the publication and republication of his poems. For Johnson, poetry was just one of many genres in which he plied his skill and made his name, and his poems are a small part of his vast output as a professional writer. He wrote poems throughout his life, but he never intended to publish a great many of them, and he was not, in general, careful about the production of those he did publish. Moreover, the place of poetry in Johnson's identity as a professional writer waned rapidly with age.

Johnson entered the literary world as a poet (and an editor of poetry) in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and first made his name as the author of *London* (1738), his 'imitation' of Juvenal's third satire, which won praise from Pope. His imitation of Juvenal's tenth satire, *The Vanity of Human Wishes* (1749), was also important in his career, but by the time he wrote it, his work as a prose writer was eclipsing his labors as a poet, and by 1755 when the *Vanity* appeared in Robert Dodsley's popular *Collection*, Johnson was better known as a critic, biographer, lexicographer, and moral essayist—the identity he retained for the rest of his life. So thoroughly did 'Dictionary Johnson' and 'The Rambler' eclipse 'the author of London' that when Samuel Parr undertook to write the epitaph for Johnson's monument in St. Paul's Cathedral, he balked at calling Johnson more than a 'commendable poet' ('Probabili Pöetae'). He defended his measured phrase in a letter to his friend James McIntosh: 'Considering the Poetical writings of Dr. Johnson as forming a very small part of his works, and looking upon the writer as a poet of no very high class, I intended at first to say nothing of those writings' (British Library Add MS 78763, f. 40). In the end, under pressure from Edmond Malone

and others, Parr changed his praise to include Johnson's 'perspicuity of sentiments' and 'weight of language' ('Luminibus sententiarum / Et ponderibus verborum'), but these are features equally, more voluminously, and more famously present in Johnson's prose and in his conversation.

Johnson did not stop composing poetry after he established himself as a professional writer, but he expended his efforts mostly for the amusement of friends or as exercises in self-examination or mental fitness. Latin is the language of most of the poems he wrote as exercises. This would not exclude them from possible publication in the eighteenth century, but Johnson's most profitable poems were written in English for obvious reasons. Very early in his career Johnson published a few Latin poems (and a couple in Greek), but he had no intention of publishing—at least in his lifetime—his later Latin poetry. The most famous of his 'fitness' poems is the distich he wrote after suffering a stroke to test his state of mind (see p. 595 below). It is also well-known that in his valetudinarian old age Johnson translated poems from the *Greek Anthology* into Latin 'to drive the night along' (see p. 610 below), but there were many more 'fitness' poems, such as 'Verses on Chronology' and 'Geographia Metrica', in both of which he tested his ability to express numerical facts in Latin verse (see pp. 505 and 692 below).

Johnson's poems of self-examination are much more expressive and interesting than his 'fitness' poems: Γνῶθι σεαυτόν (Know Thyself) and 'On the Stream at Stowe Mill, Lichfield' (pp. 448 and 684 below) are among his finest poems. In no case, however, did Johnson attempt to publish these expressive poems any more than he did the 'fitness' exercises. Some, indeed, he entrusted to his good friend Bennet Langton who edited them as 'Poemata' for inclusion in volume 11 of John Hawkins's edition of Johnson's *Works* (1787), as perhaps Johnson expected he would. (He was approached almost on his death bed by the publishers to edit his own works, and must have known they would approach someone else when he was gone.) Others only survive because friends such as Hester Thrale Piozzi and James Boswell made copies. This is also, for obvious reasons, the case with the many poems that Johnson composed impromptu—in English or Latin—for the amusement of friends.

Although his two or three most famous and profitable poems are English, Johnson wrote as many poems in Latin as in English. The length of *London* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, with the addition of his verse tragedy *Irene*, give the English poems much greater bulk in his poetical works, but numerically the Latin poems are on a par with them. As Robert DeMaria, Jr. and others have shown, Johnson set out in life to emulate the great humanist scholar-poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His idols were men such as Joseph Scaliger, Hugo Grotius, and their hero Erasmus. For such scholars Latin was the lingua franca, and much of their work involved the transmission of classical texts to the modern European world. Johnson is later than his heroes chronologically and culturally, but in his time aspects of the older humanist intellectual milieu persisted. Latin was still readily available for communication with many friends and colleagues; in his written (and perhaps his oral) conversation with his doctor Thomas Lawrence, for example, Johnson often used Latin—both verse and prose.

While Latin was available for private correspondence, English was the language of Johnson's paying audience during his life as a professional writer. He had one foot in the culture of each language, so to speak, and partly because of this fact, much of Johnson's work as a poet involved translation. His two longest poems are loose translations or 'imitations' of Juvenal, and a large number of his other poems are translations of other classical authors, such as Horace, Virgil, Martial, and Anacreon. His translations of the classical mottoes in the *Rambler* constitute one of the largest bodies of his work as a poet. The only larger body of poetry, with the exception of his tragedy *Irene*, is his collection of translations into Latin of epigrams in the *Greek Anthology*. Johnson's *Irene,* written for a live audience, is of course in English. Set as it is at the fall of Constantinople, however, and focused on characters who transmitted, or translated, classical culture to the West, it dramatizes Johnson's intermediary intellectual position between the ancients and the moderns.

There was no question in the eighteenth century that verse translation is poetry, but the practitioner of it could be seen, by a higher standard, as a versifier rather than a true poet. Johnson himself invoked this higher standard often in his writing, most famously in Chapter 10 of *Rasselas* in which Imlac lays down such daunting, encyclopedic qualifications for the poet that Prince Rasselas is convinced that it is impossible to become one. Much less well-known is the epigraph Johnson used for 'Messia', his translation of Pope's 'Messiah' and his very first publication: *Ex alieno ingenio Poeta, ex suo tantum Versificator* ('a poet from another's talent, only a versifier from his own'; see p. 117 below). The quotation adapts a statement from Julius Caesar Scaliger about Erasmus, the first part of which runs, in translation, 'Erasmus showed much felicity in translating the Greeks' (*Poetices libri septem* [1561], p. 308). At the very other end of his literary career, in what was planned as the last paragraph in his last major work—the *Lives of the Poets*—Johnson answered the question 'Was Pope a poet?' with the further question, 'If Pope is not a poet, where is poetry to be found?' He answers that Pope's Homer alone would qualify him for the title. The fact that he can entertain the question, however, shows that the difference between a poet and a versifier persisted for Johnson (as for others of his time), and perhaps only the uncommon excellence of Pope—a name to conjure with—could obviate it.

Johnson's focus on translation in his verse may not disqualify him from the laurels of a poet, but when added to other aspects of his practice as a poet—such as his generally unbusinesslike approach to poetry—it should lead us to take seriously his competing identity as a versifier. Not only are a great many of his poems translations, but in many more he is recalling lines from his favorite Latin poets: Horace and Virgil especially. This does not mean Johnson lacks originality. He activates his own poetic standards in his translations. Even in his more casual translations, for example, as our notes will show, Johnson tends to remake his sources and express them in more general terms. To provide one small example, in his translation of the Latin epigraph for *Rambler* 39, he removes the name of Dido and replaces it with a blank. The point is that the sentiment expressed is not specifically about Dido but about anyone. There are countless other examples, but they all tend to support the view expressed by Imlac in *Rasselas* 10: " 'The

business of a poet", said Imlac, "is to examine, not the individual, but the species; to remark general properties and large appearances: he does not number the streaks of the tulip, or describe the different shades in the verdure of the forest'" (Yale, 16.43). In addition to generalizing his sources, Johnson often Christianizes and moralizes them. The great example of this is the conclusion of *The Vanity of Human Wishes* where Johnson substitutes the Christian values of faith, hope, and charity (or love) for the more practical and stoical values of Juvenal. There are further examples of this practice throughout Johnson's body of work, and our commentary often circles back to the *Vanity* to show the pattern. Our notes return frequently to the *Vanity* for another reason: like many great writers, Johnson was constantly rewriting the same myth, as Northrop Frye would put it, or emphasizing the same theme. This theme is the vanity of human wishes, a commonplace conspicuous in the wisdom literature of the Bible and present in many classical writers. Such thematic transformation, like his characteristic generalization, makes Johnson's translations poetry, rather than merely versification, and though the theme is a commonplace, Johnson makes it new (to recall Ezra Pound's test of poetry) and makes it his own.

How then should we reconcile Johnson's identity as a poet and his identity as a versifier? The solution is that we should take Johnson seriously as both. Anna Seward is surely wrong when she used Johnson's supposed childhood verse on a dead duck to conclude:

> These infant numbers contain the seeds of those propensities which through his life so strongly marked his character, of that poetick talent which afterwards bore such rich and plentiful fruits; for, excepting his orthographick works [his *Dictionary* and scholarly editions], every thing which Dr. Johnson wrote was Poetry …
>
> (*Life,* 1.40, n. 3)

Likewise, Samuel Parr made Johnson too pedestrian as a poet when he landed on the word 'Probabilis' (commendable) in his epitaph. In this edition, we have tried to respond to the full range of Johnson's identity as a poet and a versifier and to see that double identity in the larger context of his undeniable importance as the greatest writer of the mid-eighteenth century.

Some of the qualities that make Johnson a great writer and great public figure are conspicuous in the poems that might by some be denigrated as mere versification. His extreme verbal readiness is one example: just as he could speak or write on any subject with great facility, he could make verse very readily. His many impromptu poems show this (see p. 138 below, for example), including those that are parodies of other poets. Johnson's versifying, like some of his literary criticism, also shows that he had a fine ear. This, of course, has nothing to do with the fact that he was hard of hearing; that made it difficult for him to listen to music, but not for him to write or hear metrical verse. There is a nice example of Johnson's acuteness of hearing in contrast to his difficulty in hearing in the poem 'In theatro', which he wrote in flawless Latin meter while not being

able to hear an opera (see p. 432 below). Another feature of Johnson's versification is his command of earlier poetry; he has, like an oral poet, a remarkable stock of phrases and lines from poetry he has heard or read before. This ready allusiveness applies both to Johnson's deep poetry and his mere versification, and it shows how difficult, and how unfruitful, it is to separate the two. We will not do so in the present edition, and as befits an ideal editor we have tried to refrain from value judgments altogether. Johnson's poetry is essential both in his body of work and in his life. He once wrote to his beloved Hill Boothby, 'I write therefore I am alive' (*Letters*, 1.118). Writing came as naturally to Johnson as thinking for Descartes, and verse was an important part of his writing for Johnson throughout his life. This is one reason why we have tried to adhere to a chronological presentation of his poems. Unfortunately, the dates of composition of many of Johnson's poems are uncertain, and a perfect chronological order is therefore unattainable. Like Dictionary Johnson, however, we 'may surely be contented without the praise of perfection' (Yale, 18.112–13). We have arranged the poems according to their likeliest dates of composition and, where we could be reasonably sure of a date, or range of dates, of composition, placed these in parentheses underneath the short titles. In the many cases in which information was inadequate, we have not ventured a date but let the placement of the poem suggest an approximate date of composition. The first part of each of the headnotes provides additional information concerning the dates of composition and publication.

A poet for whom poetry was an essential activity but not the 'business' of his life presents many specific problems for an editor, besides dating. To begin with, since translation is so important in Johnson's activity as a poet and versifier, and since few readers of English poetry now read Latin, and even fewer read it well enough to appreciate just how Johnson interpreted it or rewrote it in his verse, it was necessary to present not only Johnson's source texts, but also literal, prose translations of them. (For the five longest poems, *London, The Vanity of Human Wishes*, and the translations from Homer's *Iliad*, Book 6, and of Addison's 'Battle of the Pygmies and Cranes' and Pope's 'Messiah', the Greek, Latin, or English original is printed on the left page and Johnson's version on the right. Johnson's frequent augmentation or reduction of the original made it impossible to achieve an exact correspondence, especially in the imitations of Juvenal, but we hope that this arrangement will make it easier for the reader to compare Johnson's poems with their models.) With these texts in hand, it is possible, we hope, for readers without Latin to understand Johnson much better than they otherwise could. The result of this inclusion is a very large volume—at least twice the size it would be without these additions. In his original publication Johnson provided some of the Latin of Juvenal that he imitated in *London*, and in the *Vanity* he cited the lines in Juvenal to which his lines referred. He could count on his readers either knowing the original or being able to pull a copy of Juvenal off the shelf to refresh their memories. We believe that providing the additional texts here, voluminous as they are, puts contemporary readers in a position much closer to that of the readers Johnson expected than would be possible otherwise. It is not the same position, of course, but it approximates it, and it brings closer to the inner circle many readers excluded in earlier editions of Johnson's poems.

Besides the source texts and translations, of course, there are also copious notes, in the tradition of the Longman series. The notes aim not only to give today's readers the sort of knowledge that Johnson's contemporary readers brought to his poems, but perhaps something more. Thanks to the robust scholarship invested in Johnson and his friends in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, we know more than most of his contemporaries about his life and can place his poetry in that context more accurately. The notes in this volume cannot capture with perfect accuracy the moment in which Johnson created a particular poem, but they can attempt to do so by correlating the knowledge of Johnson's close friends—including Boswell, Thrale-Piozzi, Reynolds, Burney, and Hawkins—whose works have themselves been illuminated by modern scholarship.

The notes in this volume are also more expansive than in any earlier edition of Johnson's poems because twenty-first-century readers require more assistance with Johnson's allusions than earlier readers. The best of the earlier editions of Johnson's complete poetry—Oxford (2nd edition, 1974)—does not even translate Johnson's Latin verse, much less explain his many allusions to classical authors. The editions exclusively devoted to Johnson's Latin and Greek poems—Baldwin (1995) and Rudd (2005)—supply translations and note many of the classical references, but do not translate these. The footnotes themselves, however, mostly attempt to clarify the meanings of English words. We often do so by citing a definition in Johnson's *Dictionary* (*Dict.*) or in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*). (We refer to the third edition, which is only available online and is in the constant process of revision, so some of our citations may be out of date by the time this volume is published.) Definitions in our footnotes may sometimes conflict grammatically with the lemmas to which they are attached, but we have reconciled them where doing so did not detract from clarity.

Despite all the annotation supplied in our volume, we have allowed much to pass without comment. For example, we very seldom note the fact that many of Johnson's end rhymes are inexact. Although this fact may puzzle modern readers, such inexactness was common in eighteenth-century verse, most notably in Johnson's most important English forerunners, Dryden and Pope. In 1775 John Walker published *A Dictionary of the English Language, Answering at Once the Purposes of Rhyming, Spelling, and Pronouncing … And for the Purposes of Poetry is added an Index of Allowable Rhymes*. These are justified in many cases with quotations from Pope or Dryden. All of Johnson's inexact rhymes are 'allowable' by Walker's standards, even those that sound oddest to modern ears. Another kind of note missing from our commentary is one offering interpretation or evaluation. That absence is by design and we hope we have left interpretation and evaluation to readers, although we have aimed to put them in a position to make their own informed interpretations and evaluations. We confess that the line between explanation and interpretation can be thin, and we apologize for the instances in which we have crossed or smudged that fine line.

We note finally that the many citations of earlier authors in our notes are taken, wherever possible, from modern standard editions, bibliographical information on which can be found in *Works Cited* (p. 962). Most of these editions retain original spelling, and we have followed them, just as we have retained original spelling in our

texts. In our commentary we have observed some British forms, such as the use of single inverted commas surrounding quotations, but we have used American spelling. We have both spent our professional lives in America and feel surer to avoid error when following American conventions.

As it is for most editors, settling on the text of our author has been the most vexing part of our work. Partly because poetry was not the business of Johnson's life in the sense that Pope's was, no one solution, applicable to all the poems, seemed possible. Unlike Pope, Johnson did not collect his poems for an edition, nor did he intend to, although he did in many of his publishing contracts reserve the right of an edition, with an eye towards collecting his works, eventually. The majority of his poems, however, though not the outright bulk of them, were never intended for publication, and would not have been included in an edition that he edited. He knew perhaps that Bennet Langton would see into futurity those manuscripts that he sent him, but he gave no instructions for printing them, and in most cases the manuscripts Langton received are lost.

Unlike Pope again, Johnson did not often revise his poems. *The Vanity of Human Wishes* is a notable exception. For that most important poem a partial autograph manuscript, a first edition, a revised edition, and a few scraps of revisionary notes survive. This would seem to make it more possible than with most of Johnson's poems to present his process of composition. Unfortunately, some crucial steps are missing here, even in the best attested of Johnson's compositions. First of all, as he implied in his contrast to Pope's method of composition (above, p. xvii), Johnson composed a great deal in his head before committing anything to paper. (He said in the case of the *Vanity* that he composed as many as fifty lines at a time before writing them down and then wrote only half lines [*Life*, 2.15].) In addition, crucially, we do not have corrected proof pages, although it is clear that Johnson regarded the proof stage as part of the process of composition: he laughed at Lord Lyttelton for employing a 'pointer' to add punctuation to his lengthy *History of Henry II* (1767–71): '"as if (laughing) another man could point his sense better than himself"' (*Life*, 3.32). As Roger Lonsdale notes in his commentary on a corresponding passage in Johnson's 'Life' of Lyttelton, 'Many authors at this period in fact relied on printers and others to punctuate their writings' (Londsale 2006: 4.515, n. 21). Johnson may have been one of them at times, and at times (judging by his laughter) he pointed his works himself. In any case, we do not have the evidence to know for sure what pointing Johnson preferred in his poems. We have mostly followed our copy-texts in pointing Johnson's poems, but we have occasionally made a silent change for the sake of clarity, resting on the knowledge that Johnson's preferred pointing is radically uncertain. This has been true of commas, semi-colons, colons, apostrophes used to indicate possession, but rarely of periods. We have ventured to make silent corrections in texts based on manuscripts, especially those not in Johnson's hand, much more often than in printed copy-text, where there is often a presumption that Johnson saw proof.

Another area of uncertainty in Johnson's poetry—one that has been much discussed—is his capitalization and, less importantly, his italicization. Richard Wendorf's excellent recent study *Printing History and Cultural Change* (2022) documents the shift from the 'old style' of printing to the 'new' in the middle years of the eighteenth century. His data

show that 1765 was the 'tipping point' in this change, but many works made the change earlier, going from the earlier practice of capitalizing all nouns (and italicizing proper nouns) to the later one of reserving capitals for the first word in a sentence, proper nouns, and (crucially for Johnson), sometimes, personified nouns, while eschewing italics altogether, except for emphasis (and occasionally for quotations). Wendorf shows, however, that there were also intermediary steps, or works that mixed the old and new style before the tipping point was reached and even after. This complicates things, as does the fact that many people who learned to write under the old regime kept to the old style in writing manuscripts even after the new style prevailed in print. Gradually, of course, the new style in print dominated the style of manuscript capitalization, but its progress was uneven. Add to this the fact that Johnson was himself uneven, ostensibly careless, in his use of capitals in his manuscripts and the fact mentioned before that he very much expected such accidentals as capitalization and punctuation to change during the printing process, and there is a problem for textual editors, who are of course trying to put on the page what Johnson wanted to see there. The problem is compounded further by the fact that the amount and kind of information available varies so much among the individual poems. For some of Johnson's poems, a manuscript—either an autograph or a copy—is the only source; for others, a single printing provides the source; for others, there are multiple printings or multiple manuscript copies, and there is seldom assurance that Johnson saw any of them through the press, even if a presumption is reasonable. Our solution has been to take each poem separately and decide on the best copy-text for it and, with the rare exceptions noted above, to adhere to the accidentals in that text, even though this makes the presentation of accidentals throughout the volume uneven.

In our choice of a copy-text, an autograph manuscript, where there is one, has usually taken precedence, but that has been superseded when there is some indication that a printed version received Johnson's care. In some cases, transcriptions by others—presumably based on autographs or oral transmission—have seemed the best approximation of Johnson's wishes. Where there are no indications that any one extant version is closer to Johnson's intentions than another, we have generally chosen the first printed edition. In a few cases, including *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, a revised edition seemed best to reflect Johnson's intentions. In making these choices, we have kept in mind the general goals of trying to put modern readers in the position of Johnson's contemporaries and of honoring Johnson's final intentions. The two goals are occasionally in conflict and both are, even individually, impossible to achieve in perfection, but they are nevertheless admirable guides in making difficult if not impossible choices. In a few instances, we have obviated the need for making a choice by printing two or even three versions of a poem, but of course it was impractical to do this very often, especially for the longer poems. Moreover, there is an editorial responsibility to make choices of this kind and not to expect readers to accumulate all the knowledge necessary to make informed choices themselves.

Readers can track our editorial choices, and reject them, if they like, by reading the textual notes. We have not noted every single difference between our copy-texts and competing versions, but we have noted every significant difference. This means

any change of a word or more is noted as well as a few particularly important changes of punctuation or capitalization. When the textual notes track differences from the copy-text in a manuscript, cross-outs and other changes within the manuscript are only selectively noted, sometimes with literally crossed-out text and sometimes with angle brackets. In transcriptions of the *Irene* manuscript inverted 'V's indicate authorial insertions. In rare cases, when the use of apostrophes in a manuscript is uneven, we have silently added some. In some important cases the extant manuscripts differ radically from the copy-text. In these cases the earlier complete editions (Oxford and Yale) provided transcriptions or partial transcriptions of the manuscripts. We have not done this, partly because we have used up so much space on source texts and translations, and partly because, on the whole, we believe we should, as editors, present a collection of complete poems. In choosing what parts of the manuscripts to represent in the textual apparatus, we have kept in view what might be most useful for an understanding of the finished poem presented on the page proper. In the case of *Irene* we had to exercise the greatest selectivity because the notes and rough drafts of that work differ most from the finished product and are most voluminous. The words and lines selected for inclusion in the textual apparatus are those that seem most clearly relevant to the finished work and therefore most illustrative of Johnson's process of composition. The drafts and notes in their entirety are certainly worthy of study for Johnsonians, and we rejoice that they are available in the Oxford edition, but we felt it was impractical and inappropriate, given our goals, to present them here.

Almost all scholarly editions are built on the foundations of earlier editions. That is certainly the case with the present edition of Johnson's poems. We are indebted most of all to the revised Oxford edition (1974), which superseded the first edition and the Yale edition, volume 6 in the *Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson* (1964). The original Oxford edition and the Yale edition were both edited by Edward L. McAdam. He had a different co-editor or associate with each volume, but his presence in both meant that in some ways the two were on a par. The second edition of Oxford benefited vastly from the silent intervention of David Fleeman, who also edited an excellent edition of Johnson's poems for Penguin and Yale University Press. We have benefited throughout from Fleeman's work on the poems. Buttressed by his lifelong work on a bibliography of Johnson's printed works, the Oxford edition contains the most information available about the publication of Johnson's poems. (James McLaverty's online treatment augments the information in Fleeman's great *Bibliography*.) We have not tried to equal Oxford's account of the publication history of Johnson's poetry but limited ourselves mainly to listing editions with some authorial significance. Here again, we have kept in mind the needs of a reader trying to see the poems as Johnson's contemporaries did, rather than the scholarly bibliographer or collector striving to circumscribe the universe of the transmission of Johnson's works. Another debt we owe to Oxford, Yale, and Fleeman is the ascription to the poems of titles or short titles. These sometimes, but not always, reflect the wording of a copy-text; it was more important to us that they be appropriate and, where possible, received and familiar. For this reason we rarely changed the titles established in earlier editions, although where they differed of course we chose among them.

We believe we have superseded Oxford in providing explanatory notes, but we hasten to add that we have repeated much of the information in that volume, and we have built on it throughout, even when in rare cases we have corrected it. In some instances, Oxford's notes are themselves derived from earlier commentators, and in most of those cases we have considered the information as having passed into common knowledge. In other instances, the information was common knowledge for us as seasoned commentators on Johnson's works or on classical poetry; in those cases we did not always feel a reference to Oxford was necessary. In many, many other cases, however, we have credited Oxford, or Yale, or Fleeman, but we wish also to acknowledge a general debt to all three works. We are also indebted to the excellent editions of Johnson's Latin and Greek poems—Baldwin and Rudd. Again, not every note is credited; some seemed obvious to us, and some had passed into general knowledge; but we have credited many more. That we should credit earlier editions is not only fitting and intellectually honest; it is also an indication that our work, and the work of scholarly editors in general, is meant to be derivative as well as original. Despite the prominence of interpretive and theoretical work in the world of literary studies over the last fifty years, the work of establishing texts and illustrating them with commentary has gone steadily on, building on earlier achievements, like any other branch of human knowledge. We are proud to participate in that communal effort.

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In addition to preceding editions of Johnson's poetry, we are indebted to many other works and many individuals. The works are properly credited, we hope, in our notes, but the following individuals (many of whom have written on Johnson's poetry) deserve special thanks: David Hopkins, Michael Rossington, Paul Hammond, and Cathy Shrank, the four General Editors who commissioned the volume and assisted us throughout its preparation; James McLaverty, whose essays and advice on editing Johnson were instrumental to our editorial choices; Matthew Curr, for kindly providing a copy of his thesis on Johnson's Latin poems; Emily Lorraine de Montluzin, expert on the poetry of the *Gentleman's Magazine*; Ciara Murray Jordan who assisted with the preparation of the typescript and Natalie Bielat who did the same and helped us with our Spanish; Giovanni Iamartino, Francesca Savoia, and Lia Guerra who all helped with Italian references and translations; Barry Baldwin who offered advice in addition to the extensive information in his edition of Johnson's Latin and Greek poetry; Thomas Kaminski for his advice as well as writings on Johnson; John Hemy for his help with *Irene*; David Venturo for his important, full length study *Johnson the Poet.* We are also indebted to the production team whose patience was tried but not exhausted by this typographically difficult book and the seemingly endless attention to detail it required: Ting Baker, Ruth Berry, Jill Harper, and Ed Robinson. In the eleventh hour Yuqi (Mozer) Zhao assisted us in compiling the index.

Our quotations from classical authors are drawn mainly from the series of Oxford Classical Texts or the Loeb Classical Library. The literal translations of Johnson's Latin and Greek source texts, as well as the quotations from classical authors found in our notes, are our own, but in making them we constantly consulted and benefited from the work of previous translators: above all, Barry Baldwin and Niall Rudd, in the case of Johnson's poems. For classical works, we regularly consulted the volumes of the Loeb Classical Library (notably Rudd's versions of Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes*, Susanna Morton Braund's of Juvenal, and W. R. Paton's of the *Greek Anthology*); Rudd's translations of Juvenal in *Johnson's Juvenal* (1981) as well as his commentary on *London* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes* in the same volume were also very useful.

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Abbreviations

Anecdotes	Hester Lynch Piozzi, *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, 1786.
Baldwin	Barry Baldwin, *The Latin and Greek Poems of Samuel Johnson*, 1995, London.
Bibliography	J. D. Fleeman, *A Bibliography of the Works of Samuel Johnson: Treating his published works from the beginnings to 1984*, 2 vols., 2000, Oxford.
Boswell Collection	The Boswell Collection, GEN MSS 89, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
Boswell*, Corr.*	*The Correspondence of James Boswell with Certain Members of The Club*, ed. Charles N. Fifer, 1976. London. (The Yale Editions of *The Private Papers of James Boswell*, Research Edition: Correspondence, Volume 3).
BP	*Private Papers of James Boswell from Malahide Castle, Prepared for the Press by Geoffrey Scott.* 18 vols. Privately Printed, 1928–34.
Brodaeus/Br.	*Epigrammatum Graecorum libri VII*, ed. I. Brodaeus, 1549, Basel.
Burney, *EJL*	*The Early Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney*, ed. Lars E. Troide, Stuart Cooke, and Betty Rizzo, 5 vols., 1988–2012, Oxford.
Croker	James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, ed. J. W. Croker, 5 vols., 1831.
Dict.	Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, 1755.
Dryden, *Works*	*The Works of John Dryden*, ed. Edward Niles Hooker, Vinton A. Dearing, H. T. Swedenberg, Jr., George R. Guffey, Earl Miner, William Frost, Alan Roper, et al., 20 vols., Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956–2000.
ESTC	*English Short Title Catalogue.*
Eton 1694	*Novus Graecorum epigrammatum & poematiōn delectus* &c. (1694 etc.).
Fleeman	J. D. Fleeman, ed., *Samuel Johnson: The Complete English Poems*, 1971, rpt. New Haven, 1982.
Fleeman, *Handlist* 1	*A Preliminary Handlist of Documents & Manuscripts of Samuel Johnson*, Oxford, 1967.
Fleeman, *Handlist* 2	*A Preliminary Handlist of Copies of Books Associated with Dr. Samuel Johnson*, Oxford, 1984.

Gk. Anth.	The *Greek Anthology*
GM	*The Gentleman's Magazine,* 1731–1907.
Greene	*Samuel Johnson's Library: An Annotated Guide*, 1975.
Grimes	Grimes, Brian K., ed., *Samuel Johnson Dictionary Sources*, https://www.sjdictionarysources.org/
Hawkins, *Life*	Sir John Hawkins, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (1787*)*, ed. O M Brack, Jr., 2009, Athens, GA.
IELM	*Index of English Literary Manuscripts, vol. 3: 1700–1800*, 4 parts, compiled by Margaret M. Smith et al., 1986–92, Oxford.
Johns. Misc.	*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill, 2 vols., 1897, Oxford and New York.
Juv.	Juvenal, *Satires.*
Knolles	Richard Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* (later retitled *The Turkish History*)*,* 2nd ed., 1610 (orig. 1603).
LCL	*Loeb Classical Library*, ed. Jeffrey Henderson, 1911–, Cambridge, Mass.
Letters	*The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Bruce Redford, 5 vols., 1992-94, Princeton.
Life	*Boswell's Life of Johnson*, ed. George Birkbeck Hill, revised and enlarged by L. F. Powell. 6 vols., 1934–64, Oxford.
London Stage	*The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments, and Afterpieces, together with Casts, Box-receipts and Contemporary Comment,* ed. William B. Van Lennep, Emmet L. Avery, Arthur H. Scouten, George Winchester Stone, Jr., and C. Beecher Hogan, 5 parts, 1960–68, Carbondale.
Mainwaring Piozziana	MS Eng 1280, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
McLaverty	'Addenda and Corrigenda to J. D. Fleeman's Bibliography of the Writings of Samuel Johnson, 1731–1984', including 'List of Publications of Johnson's Poems to 1850'.
ODEP	*The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs,* revised by F. P. Wilson, 3rd ed., 1970, Oxford.
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary Online*, oed.com.
Oxford	*The Poems of Samuel Johnson*, ed. David Nichol Smith and Edward L. McAdam, 2nd ed., 1974, Oxford. The 1st ed. is occasionally cited as 'Oxford 1941'.
Poetical Works 1785	*The Poetical Works of Samuel Johnson, L.L.D.*, ed. George Kearsley.

Pottle-Bennett	Pottle, Frederick A., and Charles H. Bennett, ed., *Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson, LL.D., 1773*, new ed., 1961, New York. First edition 1936.
Prateus	*D. Junii Juvenalis et A. Persii Flacci Satyrae*, ed. L. Prateus, 1691, London.
Reade	Aleyn Lyell Reade, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, 11 vols. (rpt. 1968).
Research *Life*	*James Boswell's Life of Johnson: An Edition of the Original Manuscript*, ed. Marshall Waingrow (vol. 1), Bruce Redford (vol. 2), and Thomas F. Bonnell (vols. 3–4). Edinburgh and New Haven, 1994–2019.
Rudd	Niall Rudd, *Samuel Johnson: The Latin Poems*, 2005, Lewisburg.
Thraliana	*Thraliana: the Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (Later Mrs. Piozzi), 1776–1809*, ed. Katharine C. Balderston, 2 vols., 1951, Oxford.
Twickenham	*The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. John Butt, E. Audra, Norman Ault, F. W. Bateson, Maynard Mack, James Sutherland, Geoffrey Tillotson, and Aubrey Williams, 10 vols., 1939-69, London and New Haven.
Venturo	David F. Venturo, *Johnson the Poet*, 1999, Newark.
Waingrow, *Corr.*	*The Correspondence and Other Papers of James Boswell Relating to the Making of the Life of Johnson* (research edition), ed. Marshall Waingrow, 1969, 2nd ed. 2001, Edinburgh and New Haven.
Westminster 1724	*ΑΝΘΟΛΟΓΙΑ, sive epigrammatum Graecorum ex Ἀνθολογίᾳ editâ, MS. Bodleianâ, aliisque autoribus delectus in usum Scholae Westmonasteriensis*, 1724, Oxford.
Works 1787	*The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, ed. Sir John Hawkins, 11 vols., 1787, London.
Works 1806	*The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, ed. Arthur Murphy, 12 vols, 1806, London.
Works 1823	*The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, ed. Alexander Chalmers, 12 vols., 1823, London.
Works 1825	*The Works of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.,* ed. Francis Pearson Walesby, 9 vols., 1825, Oxford.
Yale	*The Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Allen T. Hazen, John H. Middendorf, Robert DeMaria, Jr., et al., 23 vols., 1958–2019, New Haven.

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Chronology of Johnson's Life and Selected Writings

Dates are Old Style until 1752, unless otherwise noted. Years, however, are all in New Style (i.e., beginning on 1 January). See the timelines of Pat Rogers, *The Samuel Johnson Encyclopedia* (1996) and Jack Lynch (ed.) *Samuel Johnson in Context* (2011) for further details.

1709	(7 September O.S.; 18 September N.S.) Samuel Johnson born in Lichfield to Michael and Sarah Johnson. Marlborough triumphs at the Battle of Malplaquet (11 September) but sustains heavy losses in the War of the Spanish Succession. Richard Steele begins publication of the *Tatler* (12 April). Alexander Pope begins his publishing career.
1710	The Tory ministry of Lords Bolingbroke and Oxford begins under Queen Anne. Jonathan Swift is the ministry's chief political writer. Trial of the High-Church defender Henry Sacheverell, whom Johnson is said to have cheered as an infant when he spoke in Lichfield. 'An Act for the Encouragement of Learning' protects copyright for a maximum of 28 years.
1711	Addison and Steele start publishing the *Spectator*.
1712	Johnson touched for the 'King's Evil' (scrofula) in London by Queen Anne.
1713	Treaty of Utrecht ending the War of the Spanish Succession. Swift departs for Ireland as the Tory ministry implodes.
1714	Death of Queen Anne; George, Elector of Hanover, becomes George I of England (1 August).
1717	Enters Lichfield Grammar School.
1719	Death of Joseph Addison, a former student at Lichfield Grammar School and a model for Johnson. Jacobite rising supported by Spain.
1720	'South-Sea Bubble', massive stock collapse affecting most investors in Britain.
1721	Robert Walpole becomes de facto prime minister, beginning twenty years in power.
1723	Birth of Joshua Reynolds (16 July).
1725	Extended stay in the household of his cousin Cornelius Ford in Stourbridge.
1726–27	Swift publishes *Gulliver's Travels*; 'Festina lente'; 'Upon the Feast of St. Simon and St. Jude'.
1727–28	Self-directed reading at home in Lichfield. George I dies; George II is king (11 June 1727).

1728	Enters Pembroke College, Oxford, where he remains for thirteen months. Translates Pope's *Messiah* into Latin verse.
1729	Returns to Lichfield; suffers psychological problems; fails at attempts to secure a teaching post. Death of William Congreve.
1731	Death of Johnson's father, Michael Johnson, leaving scant provision for his survivors, except his bookstore. 'Messia' is published in John Husbands's *Miscellany*. Edward Cave begins publishing the *Gentleman's Magazine*.
1732–33	Writing for the *Birmingham Journal*; his contributions are lost.
1732	Works for a few months as an usher at Market Bosworth School.
1733	The excise tax introduced in Parliament.
1734	Issues proposals for an edition of the Latin poems of Poliziano (lost).
1735	*A Voyage to Abyssinia,* a translation from the French version of Father Lobo's Portuguese *Itinerario*. Marries Elizabeth Jervis Porter, a widow twenty years his senior with three children.
1736	Starts his school at Edial; writes some portion of *Irene.*
1737	Johnson and Garrick go to London (2 March); only brother Nathanael dies. Johnson approaches Edward Cave, proprietor of the *Gentleman's Magazine,* with plans for a translation of Sarpi's *History of the Council of Trent*; death of Queen Caroline, an important patron of the arts.
1738	Publishes *London*; writes the life of Paulo Sarpi, part of his abandoned translation of Sarpi's *History.* Poems to Cave, Richard Savage, Elizabeth Carter, and Thomas Birch in the *Gentleman's Magazine*
1739	*Marmor Norfolciense; A Compleat Vindication of the Licensers of the Stage*; translates Crousaz's Commentary on Pope; War of Jenkins's Ear with the Spanish begins.
1740–44	*Debates in the Senate of Magna Lilliputia.*
1740	Lives of Blake, Drake, and Barretier; 'Essay on Epitaphs'; 'An Epitaph on Claudy Phillips, a Musician'; 'Prologue to Garrick's *Lethe*'.
1742	Life of Sydenham; resignation of Walpole.
1743	Catalogue of the Harleian Library; 'The Young Author' and 'Ode on Friendship' published; Richard Savage dies in debtors' prison; Henry Pelham becomes prime minister. 'Translation of Pope's Verses on His Grotto'.
1744	*The Life of Richard Savage*; death of Pope (30 May).
1745	*Miscellaneous Observations on Macbeth*; death of Walpole; death of Swift (19 October); revises Samuel Madden's *Boulter's Monument.*
1746	Signs contract to write *A Dictionary of the English Language*; Jacobites under Charles Edward Stuart are defeated at Culloden (16 April).

1747	*Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language; Drury-Lane Prologue* (15 September). 'On a Lady's Presenting a Sprig of Myrtle to a Gentleman' published in Dodsley's *Museum*.
1748	Contributions to *The Preceptor; London* appears in Dodsley's *Collection*. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ends the War of the Austrian Succession.
1749	*The Vanity of Human Wishes; Irene*; William Lauder's Essay on Milton; moves into the house in Gough Square.
1750–52	*The Rambler* (20 March 1750–14 March 1752)
1750	'A New Prologue to *Comus*' (5 April); Francis Barber brought to England by his owner Richard Bathurst.
1751	*Life of Cheynel.*
1752	Death of Elizabeth Porter Johnson (17 March); Johnson writes dedication for Charlotte Lennox, *The Female Quixote*; Anna Williams takes up residence in Johnson's house as does Francis Barber. *The Adventurer* begins (7 November).
1753–54	Writes for Hawkesworth's *Adventurer*.
1753	Begins friendship with Giuseppe Baretti.
1754	Life of Edward Cave; meets Bennet Langton.
1755	*A Dictionary of the English Language*; Dodsley's *Collection* includes revised *Vanity of Human Wishes*; awarded MA by Oxford University.
1756–57	Contributions to *The Literary Magazine*; the life of Frederick the Great; Johnson meets Reynolds; Seven Years' War begins.
1756	Edits Sir Thomas Browne's *Christian Morals* with a life of Browne.
1757	Review of Soame Jenyns; John Wilkes elected to Parliament.
1758–60	*The Idler* (15 April 1758–5 April 1760).
1758	Briefly under arrest for debt; relieved by Samuel Richardson.
1759	*Rasselas*; mother dies in Lichfield (23 January); moves from Gough Square; Battle of Quebec.
1760	'Bravery of English Common Soldiers'; moves to 1 Inner Temple Lane; death of George II; George III is king (25 October).
1761	Edits Roger Ascham's *English Works*, with a life of Ascham; death of Samuel Richardson.
1762	Awarded a pension of £300 p.a. by George III; Richard Bathurst dies at the Siege of Havana.
1763	Meets James Boswell (16 May); Peace of Paris ending Seven Years' War.
1764	Contributes to Goldsmith's *The Traveller*; Johnson and Reynolds form The Club.
1765	Meets Hester and Henry Thrale (9 January); *The Plays of William Shakespeare*; awarded LL.D. degree by Trinity College Dublin;

	moves to a house in Johnson's Court; Wilkesite riot in St. George's Fields, Southwark.
1766	'The Fountains' and several poems in Anna Williams's *Miscellanies*; begins collaboration with Robert Chambers on the Second Vinerian Law Lectures.
1767	Private meeting with King George III.
1768	Royal Academy founded; 'Prologue to *The Good Natur'd Man*'.
1769	Garrick organizes the Shakespeare Jubilee in Stratford; Reynolds delivers his first *Discourse* at the Royal Academy; Captain Cook arrives in Tahiti.
1770	*The False Alarm*; birth of William Wordsworth.
1771	*Thoughts on the Falkland Islands*; writes 'In theatro', 'Epitaph on Hogarth'.
1772	Lord Mansfield's decision in Somerset v Stewart, an important step in the abolition of slavery; 'Motto for a Goat'; Γνῶθι σεαυτόν (Know Thyself) (12 December).
1773	Tours Scotland with Boswell; 'Verses upon Inchkenneth'; revised *Dictionary*; revised Shakespeare; 'Verses Addressed to Dr. Lawrence'; 'On Recovering the Use of His Eyes'; 'Ode on the Isle of Skye'; 'Ode Addressed to Mrs Thrale'.
1774	*The Patriot*; death of Goldsmith; 'Epitaph on Goldsmith'; tour of North Wales with Thrales; Donaldson v Becket establishes that copyright is not perpetual.
1775	*A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*; visits France with Thrales and Baretti; birth of Jane Austen. Honorary Doctor of Laws from Oxford University; Battle of Lexington and Concord; 'French Distichs'.
1776	Johnson moves to his final dwelling place, No. 8, Bolt Court; Declaration of Independence in America.
1777	*The Convict's Address* and other writings for William Dodd; 'Prologue to *A Word to the Wise*'; meets Frances Burney; 'To Mrs. Thrale, on Her Completing Her Thirty-Fifth Year'; 'Charade!'; parodies of Thomas Warton; 'Translation of a Song in Walton's *Compleat Angler*'.
1778	Dedication for Reynolds's *Seven Discourses*; revises Hannah More's *Sir Eldred of the Bower*; completes 'Translation of Anacreon's "Dove"'; 'To Dr Lawrence'.
1779–81	*Prefaces, Biographical and Critical, to the Works of the English Poets.*
1779	Death of Garrick; 'Epilogue to Baretti's *Carmen Seculare of Horace*'; 'Prayer on Christmas Day'.
1780	Gordon Riots in London; 'A Short Song of Congratulation'.
1781	*The Lives of the Poets* published independently; death of Henry Thrale; 'Translation of the Collect for Ash Wednesday'.

1782	Death of Robert Levet; 'Translations of French Verses on Skating'; 'Christ to the Sinner'.
1783	'On the Death of Dr. Robert Levet' published; suffers stroke (17 June); 'Prayer on Losing the Power of Speech'; 'On Hope'.
1784	'Translation of Horace, *Odes*, 4.7'; Hester Thrale marries Gabriel Piozzi (23 July); translations from the *Greek Anthology*; death on 13 December.
1785	Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides; Poetical Works*, ed. George Kearsley.
1786	Thrale-Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson*.
1787	*The Works of Samuel Johnson*, ed. John Hawkins; poems and 'Poemata' (ed. Bennet Langton) in volume 11.
1788	*Works*, Supplementary Vol. 14, ed. Isaac Reed.
1791	Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*

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1
ON A DAFFODILL
(*c.*1725)

Composition and Publication

Johnson's lifelong friend Edmund Hector sent a transcript of this poem to Boswell on 1 February 1785. In the accompanying letter he said, 'The Daffodaill was wrote between his 15th and 16th Year. as it was not characteristick of the Flower He never much lik'd it' (Beinecke Library, Boswell Collection, Series 2, Edmund Hector, C 1523; Waingrow, *Corr.*, p. 42). Hector repeated this information when he sent a second transcript of the poem to Boswell on 31 October 1791. Hector's dating puts the composition of the poem about 1725. Oxford plausibly suggests the spring of that year. Boswell did not choose to print the poem, and it does not appear in *Poetical Works* 1785 or in *Works* 1787. The poem was not printed until it appeared in the collected editions of Oxford and Yale.

Text

Hector's first transcription (Boswell Collection, Series 2, Samuel Johnson, Juvenilia: copies [C 1606], p. 19) found its way into a collection of Johnson's earliest poetry transcribed by Boswell's servant, James Ross, after the collection was received in 1787. The transcription sent on 31 October 1791 is in a different group of manuscripts (Boswell Collection, Series 2, Edmund Hector, C 1531, p. 1). Our text is based on the transcript of 1785 because it is earlier and seems to have fewer errors. We note only one difference (not counting the absence of title) involving a word or more, in the version sent in 1791. Yale 6 (pp. 3–4) uses the transcription sent in 1785, but Oxford (pp. 2–4) prefers 1791 as a copy-text. Oxford scrupulously notes almost all differences between the two manuscripts, which are mainly matters of punctuation, spelling, and capitalization.

Models and Sources

Although the presence of Robert Herrick's 'To Daffadills' is paramount, Johnson also must have thought of Horace's spring odes: 1.4, 4.7 (which he translated) and 4.12.

Context

Although the poem is early and largely derivative, it announces an important theme in Johnson's poetry, the vanity of literary wishes. He pursues the theme more broadly in

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'The Young Author' (p. 134 below) and in the portion of *The Vanity of Human Wishes* that owes the least to its Juvenalian model (ll. 135–74, pp. 281–85 below). Lawrence Lipking (1998: 34–38) discusses this aspect of the poem at length.

On a Daffodill, the first Flower the Author had seen that Year

1

Hail lovely Flower first honour of the year!
Hail beautious earnest of approaching Spring!
Whose early Buds unusual Glories wear,
And of a fruitfull year fair omens bring.

2

Be thou the favorite of the indulgent Sky, 5
Nor feel the inclemencies of Wintry Air,
May no rude blasts thy sacred bloom destroy,
May Storms howl gently o'er and learn to spare.

3

May lambent Zephyrs gently wave thy Head,
And balmy Spirits thro' thy Foliage play, 10

¶1 ***10.*** **And**] May *1791*

¶1 ***Title.*** Absent in 1791
1. ***honour:*** 'A decoration, adornment, or ornament which confers distinction; (*esp.*) the foliage of a tree or trees' (*OED*, 4b).
2. ***earnest:*** 'A pledge, foretaste, or indication of something to come' (*OED*, 2).
4. Yet, the daffodil is emblematic of false hope (see Henry Phillips, *Floral Emblems* [1825], 111), and the poem exploits that association explicitly in stanza 7. In Herrick's 'To Daffadills' the flower is only an emblem of life's brevity (ll. 11–20).
5. On the second page of his transcript of this poem Hector wrote some lines from Roscommon's *Essay on Translated Verse,* including the phrase 'indulgent skies', which is echoed here.
7. ***rude:*** 'Harsh; inclement' (*Dict.*, sense 3).
9. ***lambent:*** playing about; gliding over without harm. ***Zephyrs:*** gentle west winds, often mentioned in Latin poetry in connection with spring (e.g., Horace, *Odes,* 4.7.9).

May the Morn's earliest Tears on thee be shed,
And thou impearl'd with dew appear more gay.

4

May throngs of beautious Virgins 'round thee crowd,
And view thy charms with no malignant Eyes;
Then scorn those Flowers to which the Aegyptians bow'd, 15
Which prostrate Memphis own'd her Deities.

5

If mix'd with these divine Cleora smile,
Cleora's smiles a genial warmth dispense,

---

12. In Herrick's poem 'the pearls of morning's dew' symbolize evanescence.

13. The virgins recall Herrick's famous carpe diem poem, 'To the Virgins, to make much of Time'.

15–16. The lotus flower was widely used in Egyptian religious rites and symbolized rebirth; it was associated with various gods, including Isis.

15. scorn: the subject of this verb is 'Virgins' (l. 13), though the semicolon in l. 14 allows for the possibility that it is an imperative addressed to the daffodil.

16. prostrate: SJ imagines the city as a whole bowing down to deities and specifically to the lotus flowers that represented them. ***Memphis:*** a city of ancient Egypt on the Nile; the capital of the Old Kingdom and site of the Temple of Ptah, the god of creation. ***own'd:*** acknowledged; recognized.

17. these: the virgins (l. 13). ***Cleora:*** the name of the ideal wife of Cleomenes in Dryden's play of that name, which is based on Plutarch's *Life of Cleomenes*. The name appears in many other poems, including 'To Cleora' by John Oldmixon (*Poems on Several Occasions*, 1696) and Swift's ironic 'A Town Eclogue' (1710). It is impossible to say in most poems whether the name recalls an historical person or is just a conventional pastoral name derived from Greek κλέος (good reputation or glory). There is a possibility that the name had a more specific significance for Johnson: it reappears in 'An Ode on a Lady Leaving Her Place of Abode' (a transcription of which accompanied 'On a Daffodill' in 1791), and in *Rambler* 15 where she is a country girl who is disappointed by social life in London. The name also appears in a fragment of Johnson's notebooks called 'Adversaria', preserved by Hawkins in his *Life* (p. 275n.): 'I near dull—Cleora, a lady dreaded for her elegance and knowledge, came by chance; I shone: I now am proud; nobody worth speaking to'. The note seems to have been written in preparation for another *Rambler*. Oxford identifies Cleora in 'Ode on a Lady Leaving Her Place of Abode' as Mary Graves (1714–1779), a sister of Morgan Graves (1709?–1770), for whom SJ wrote 'On a Lady's Presenting a Sprig of Myrtle to a Gentleman' (p. 147 below).

18. genial: 'favourable or conducive to growth or health; pleasantly warm or temperate' (*OED*, 4a).

New verdure ev'ry fading leaf shall fill,
And thou shalt flourish by her influence. 20

6

But while I sing, the nimble moments fly,
See! Sol's bright chariot seeks the Western Main,
And ah! behold the shriv'ling blossoms die,
So late admir'd & prais'd Alas! in vain!

7

With grief this Emblem of Mankind I see, 25
Like one awaken'd from a pleasing Dream,
Cleora's self fair Flower shall fade like thee;
Alike must fall the Poet and his Theme.

---

22. Sol's: of the sun god. ***Western Main:*** the Atlantic Ocean.

27. self fair Flower: an echo of *Paradise Lost*, 9.432–33 where Eve is described, as she separates from Adam to tend her flowers, as 'Her self, though fairest unsupported Flour,/From her best prop so farr, and storm so nigh'. In fable, Proserpina (daughter of Ceres), to whom Eve is also compared (4.268–72), was reaching for a narcissus flower when she was taken to the underworld by Pluto (*Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 8ff.; Phillips, *Floral Emblems*, 111).

28. The last line introduces a common topic throughout SJ's writing, the vanity of literary wishes (see headnote).

2
TRANSLATION OF HORACE, *ODES*, 1.22
(*c.*1725, 1743, 1757–59)

Composition and Publication

When he sent Boswell transcripts of Johnson's juvenilia, Edmund Hector told him that '*Integer Vitae* was translated at School' (Waingrow, *Corr.*, p. 42), meaning, probably, Lichfield Grammar School, which dates the poem to 1725 or possibly a bit earlier. The earliest version of the poem is preserved in the transcription by Edmund Hector, now in the Beinecke Library (Boswell Collection, Series 4, Life of Johnson, Papers Apart [M145], p. 2), but the poem was first published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 13 (July 1743), 380. It reappeared in *The Works of Horace in English Verse*, 2 vols, ed. William Duncombe (1757–59, 1.82; 2nd ed., 1767, 1.88), and again in Boswell, *Life* (1791), 1.18 (*Life*, 1.51).

Text

Because Johnson revised the poem extensively both for the *Gentleman's Magazine* and for Duncombe's edition, both Yale and Oxford print two versions. We go one step further, printing the earliest version from Hector's transcript, with a few notes of punctuation silently added, the first printed version in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and the final version in Duncombe's collection. The three versions together provide a rare opportunity to examine Johnson's habit of revision over a thirty-year period.

The Latin text is from Richard Bentley's landmark edition of Horace (1711). Johnson had a copy printed in Amsterdam (1713) in his library at the time of his death. The meter of the poem is Sapphic.

Models and Sources

Horace (65–8 BCE) was, with Virgil and Ovid, one of the leading poets of the Augustan era. He was the author of the *Epodes*, two books of *Satires* and *Epistles*, four books of *Odes*, the *Ars Poetica*, and the *Carmen Saeculare*. His chef-d'oeuvre was the four books of *Odes* (the first three published as a unified collection in 23 BCE). The *Odes*, or

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Carmina (Songs), as he calls them, are highly sophisticated short poems based on the themes and meters of Greek lyric poetry, especially the works of Sappho and Alcaeus but also later Hellenistic models. They are generally addressed to a named person, real or fictitious, and cover a wide variety of themes including friendship, love, wine, politics, and religion. Horace starts *Ode* 22 in Book 1 with the assertion that a person who is pure of heart can travel safely through the most dangerous regions (Africa, Scythia, India). To prove this, he says that while he was singing of his beloved Lalage in the Sabine woods a huge wolf ran away from him. Wherever in the world you put him, he says, he will keep on loving Lalage. The poem is humorous, of course. The pompous opening moves to the unlikely, at least exaggerated, anecdote about Horace, recounted in a mock-heroic way, and finally morphs into an identification between the man pure in heart and the lover: it is a commonplace in Roman elegy that the lover is under divine protection. 'Integer Vitae' is one of Horace's most famous odes. As in his other translations of Horace's *Odes*, Johnson sticks to the length and, in general, the sense of the original but tends to dilute the poet's allusions and nuances of style and tone. 'Virtue's sacred ardour', in Johnson's version, is an inflated translation of Horace's elegant opening line but reflects contemporary interpretation of the ode as a serious moral sermon (Slimp 1998: 130, n. 21, noting Johnson's allusion to the poem in a letter to Boswell of 1771 [*Letters*, 1.363]). Johnson replaces Horace's Fuscus with 'my friend' and Lalage with Chloe (though he restored Lalage in the final version of 1757). The treacherous sandy flats known as the Syrtes are generalized as 'torrid *Africk*'s faithless sands'; 'warlike Daunia' is reduced to 'Apulia'; and, in the second and third versions, 'Juba's land' becomes 'Numidia's land'.

Integer vitae scelerisque purus
Non eget Mauris jaculis, neque arcu,
Nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
   Fusce, pharetra;

Sive per Syrtis iter aestuosas, 5
Sive facturus per inhospitalem
Caucasum, vel quae loca fabulosus
   Lambit Hydaspes.

Namque me silva lupus in Sabina,
Dum meam canto Lalagen, & ultra 10
Terminum curis vagor expeditus,
   Fugit inermem:

Quale portentum neque militaris
Daunia in latis alit aesculetis;
Nec Jubae tellus generat, leonum 15
   Arida nutrix.

Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
Arbor aestiva recreatur aura;
Quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
  Juppiter urguet: 20

Pone sub curru nimium propinqui
Solis, in terra domibus negata;
Dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
  Dulce loquentem.

(The man who lives a blameless life and is free from crime has no need of Mauretanian javelins or a bow or a quiver laden with poisoned arrows, Fuscus, whether he is setting out on a journey through the boiling Syrtes or the inhospitable Caucasus or the region lapped by the legendary Hydaspes. (10) For while I was singing of my Lalage in a Sabine wood and wandered beyond my boundary free from care, a wolf ran away from me, though unarmed—a monster such as neither warlike Daunia rears in its broad oak forests, nor the land of Juba, the dry nurse of lions, creates. Place me on still plains where no tree is refreshed by a summer's breeze—the side of the world oppressed by mists (20) and a threatening sky. Place me beneath the chariot of the sun where it draws too close, in a land denied to habitation. I will love my sweetly smiling, sweetly speaking Lalage.)

Context

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all serious students were expected to translate Horace's odes and have many of them by heart. Fielding's Tom Jones can repeat one, which is a sign of his humanity, but corrupt beaux, such as Sir Clement Willoughby in Burney's *Evelina*, cannot. Johnson certainly knew Horace well. He told Boswell 'that Horace's Odes were the compositions in which he took most delight' (*Life*, 1.70). He undoubtedly studied Horace's odes in Bentley's and others' editions, but he also read translations, even though he said, 'The lyrical part of Horace never can be perfectly translated; so much of the excellence is in the numbers and the expression' (*Life*, 3.356). When Johnson said this, in 1778, Philip Francis's translations of Horace (1743) were his favorites. Before Francis, he may have favored Thomas Creech (1684), whose translations he used several times in the *Rambler*. There were also translations of individual odes by other writers, such as Dryden (*Sylvae*, 1685), which Johnson undoubtedly also read. As noted above, Johnson contributed his translation of *Odes*, 1.22 to a compilation of translations of Horace edited by William Duncombe that contained translations by various authors living and dead, including Dryden. For a brief survey of English translations of Horace's *Odes* in the long eighteenth century, see Wilson (2005: 173–90).

A.

Translation of Horace, Book 1. Ode 22

The man, my friend, whose conscious Heart,
With Virtues sacred Ardour glows,
Nor taints with Death th' envenom'd Dart,
Nor needs the guard of Moorish Bows.

Tho' Scythia's Icy Cliffs he treads, 5
Or horrid Africk's faithless Sands,
Or where the fam'd Hydaspes spreads
His liquid Wealth o'er barb'rous Lands.

For while by Chloe's Image charm'd,
Too far in Sabine Woods I stray'd 10
Me singing, careless and unarm'd,
A grizly Wolf surpriz'd and fled;

No Savage more portentous stain'd,
Apulia's spacious Wilds with gore,

¶**2A** ***1. conscious:*** having a conscience; aware of right and wrong in one's own actions.

3–4. Nor … Nor: neither … nor.

3. I.e., does not smear lethal poison on his weapon. ***Dart:*** probably a lance (cf. 'jaculis' in Horace) rather than an arrow.

4. Moorish: strictly, from Mauretania (Morocco) in north Africa but also used, like 'Saracen', of many Muslim people, such as those who conquered Spain and were famous for their archery.

5. Scythia: a vague term for the lands to the north and east of the Black Sea, overlapping with the Caucasus.

6. horrid: 'Hideous; dreadful; shocking' (*Dict.*, sense 1). Fleeman (1971) thinks SJ wrote 'torrid'. ***faithless:*** 'untrustworthy, unreliable' (*OED*, 1b); treacherous.

7. Hydaspes: a river of the Punjab that flows into the Indus (Skt. Vitaçta; modern Jhelum). Cf. *Paradise Lost*, 3.436: 'Of *Ganges* or *Hydaspes*, *Indian* streams'.

8. liquid Wealth: not in Horace; there was a post-Augustan tradition that the Hydaspes carried gems (e.g., Seneca, *Medea*, 725). ***barb'rous:*** exotic; neither Greek nor Roman. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, 2.4: Satan's throne is brighter than the '*Barbaric* Pearl and Gold' of Middle Eastern kings.

9. Chloe: a substitute for Horace's more unusual and euphonious 'Lalage'.

10. Sabine: the Sabines occupied a hilly region north-east of Rome. Horace owned an estate there.

11. singing: Horace makes it clear that he is singing of his beloved, not merely singing. ***careless:*** without a care (not thoughtless).

13. Savage: wild animal; in Apulia these included wolves, boars, and bears.

14. Apulia: a region of south-eastern Italy, where Horace was born.

None fiercer Juba's thirsty Land, 15
Dire Nurse of raging Lyons, bore.

Place me where no soft summer gale,
Among the quivering branches sighs,
Where Clouds condens'd for ever Veil
With horrid gloom the frowning Skies! 20

Place me beneath the burning Line,
A Clime deny'd to human Race!
I'll sing of Chloe's Charms divine,
Her Heavenly Voice, & beautious Face.

B.

Translation of HORACE. *Book* I. *Ode* xxii.

The man, my friend, whose conscious heart
With virtue's sacred ardor glows,
Nor taints with death th' envenom'd dart,
Nor needs the guard of *Moorish* bows.

Though *Scythia*'s icy cliff he treads, 5
Or torrid *Africk*'s faithless sands;
Or where the fam'd *Hydaspes* spreads
His liquid wealth o'er barb'rous lands.

¶2B ***Title.*** **Translation … xxii** *Life*] *From* Horace. *Integer Vitae, &c. 1743*
5. **cliff** *1743*] Cliffs *Hector*

15. Juba: Juba II, king of Mauretania in the time of Augustus.

16. SJ softens Horace's frequently noted oxymoron in the phrase 'leonum arida nutrix' (dry nurse of lions). ***Dire:*** 'Dreadful, dismal, mournful, horrible, terrible, evil in a great degree' (*OED*, quoting *Dict.*). Cathy Shrank raises the possibility that Hector misread SJ's 'drie' (a possible spelling of 'dry') as 'dire'.

21. the burning Line: the equator. Aristotle (and others) believed human beings could not inhabit the equatorial regions (*Meteorologica*, 362b5ff.).

For while by *Chloe*'s image charm'd,
Too far in *Sabine* woods I stray'd, 10
Me singing careless and unarm'd
A furious wolf approach'd and fled.

No beast more dreadful ever stain'd
Apulia's spacious wilds with gore;
None e'er more fierce *Numidia*'s land, 15
The lyon's thirsty parent, bore.

Place me where no soft summer's gale
Among the quiv'ring branches sighs,
Where clouds condens'd forever vail
With horrid gloom the frowning skies: 20

Place me beneath the burning line,
A clime deny'd to human race;
I'll sing of *Chloe*'s charms divine,
Her heav'nly voice, and beauteous face.

C.

ODE XXII.

To ARISTIUS FUSCUS.

By S. J.

The Man, my Friend, whose conscious Heart
With Virtue's sacred Ardour glows,
Nor taints with Death the envenom'd Dart,
Nor needs the Guard of *Moorish* bows.

O'er icy *Caucasus* he treads, 5
Or torrid *Afric*'s faithless Sands,

¶2B ***15. Numidia***, an ancient kingdom of North Africa incorporated into the Roman empire by Augustus, replaces Horace's 'land of Juba'. Juba was the Numidian placed on the throne of neighboring Mauretania by the Romans.

¶2C ***Title. Aristius Fuscus:*** a friend of Horace who was also a writer.

5. Caucasus: a mountain range lying between the Black Sea and Caspian Sea.

Or where the fam'd *Hydaspes* spreads
His liquid Wealth thro' barbarous Lands.

For while in *Sabine* Forests, charm'd
By *Lalagé*, too far I stray'd, 10
Me singing, careless and unarm'd,
A furious Wolf approach'd, and fled.

No Beast more dreadful ever stain'd
Apulia's spacious Wilds with Gore;
No Beast more fierce *Numidia*'s Land, 15
The Lion's thirsty Parent, bore.

Place me where no soft Summer Gale
Among the quivering Branches sighs,
Where Clouds, condens'd, for ever veil
With horrid Gloom the frowning Skies: 20

Place me beneath the burning Zone,
A Clime deny'd to human Race;
My Flame for *Lalagé* I'll own;
Her Voice and Smiles my Song shall grace.

3
EPILOGUE TO *THE DISTREST MOTHER*
(1725–26)

Composition and Publication

Along the right-hand edge of the transcript of this poem Boswell wrote, 'Mr. Hector informed me some young Ladies at Lichfield having proposed to act "The Distressed Mother", Johnson wrote this, and gave it to Mr. Hector to convey it privately to them'. The source of Boswell's note is a letter from Hector of 1 February 1785, in which he placed the event between Johnson's sixteenth and seventeenth year, 1725–26, before or during the period he spent mainly at Pedmore and Stourbridge (Waingrow, *Corr.*, p. 42).

Text

The only authoritative text is the undated transcript by an unknown hand in the Beinecke Library (Boswell Collection, Series 4, Life of Johnson, Papers Apart [M145], pp. 11–12). Boswell printed the poem in *Life* (1791), 1.22 (*Life*, 1.55).

Context

The Distrest Mother by Ambrose Philips was first performed on 17 March 1712 with Anne Oldfield (1683–1730) in the lead role of Andromache. It was performed several times in the 1725–26 season with Oldfield still in the lead and with Mary Porter (d. 1765) as Hermione, both mature actors at this point. The 1712 epilogue was putatively by Eustace Budgell but was probably written by Joseph Addison, as Philips's publisher told Elizabeth Johnson (*Life*, 3.46). Whether or not Johnson knew this in 1725–26, the connection with Addison makes the poem more interesting since it amplifies Johnson's interest in Addison's poetry, which is evident in his translation of 'The Battle of the Pygmies and Cranes' (see p. 66 below) and the echoes of *The Campaign* in *The Vanity of Human Wishes* (ll. 31, 182). Johnson described Addison's epilogue in his 'Life' of Philips as 'the most successful epilogue that was ever yet spoken on the English theatre' (Yale, 23.1310). Johnson's judgment substantially repeats that of Budgell in *Spectator* 341 who declared that it had been 'so generally applauded by the Town, and received such

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Honours as were never before given to any in an *English* Theatre' (Bond 1965: 3.265–66). It was, however, controversial from the start. Addison entertained a letter from a correspondent condemning the epilogue for its light comedy, which ruined for him the tragic mood of the play (*Spectator* 338), but Addison may have printed this letter only to give Budgell an opportunity of defending the epilogue in *Spectator* 341. He does so on the grounds of precedent and of an awareness that plays are fictional entertainments, unlike the church services and executions to which the critic compares them in *Spectator* 338. In the play (a near translation of Racine's *Andromaque*), after long delay, Andromache consents to marry Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles, the slaughterer of her husband Hector. She does so in order to save and advance her son Astyanax, who in this story was not thrown to his death from the walls of Troy. At the wedding and coronation, Pyrrhus is murdered by the compatriots of Orestes for the sake of winning Hermione, the daughter of Helen, who was scorned by Pyrrhus. Hermione then rejects Orestes and kills herself. Andromache (Ann Oldfield) emerges after the final curtain to say, in part:

> I hope you'll own, that with becoming Art
> I've play'd my Game, and topp'd the Widow's Part;
> My Spouse, poor Man! Could not live out the Play;
> But dy'd commodiously on Wedding-Day….
> You Ladies, who protract a Lover's Pain,
> And hear your Servants sigh whole Years in vain;
> Which of you all would not on Marriage venture,
> Might she so soon upon her Jointure enter?

The lightness of the epilogue continues and there is some not-so-subtle double-entendre in Andromache's reminiscence of the enormous stone that Hector threw at the Grecian gate. This levity was criticized by Richardson's ever-proper Pamela in Part 2 of that novel (1742), as noted by Lonsdale i n his edition of the 'Life' of Philips (Lonsdale 2006: 4.390, n. 7).

Johnson's epilogue differs from Addison's in numerous ways. It is, first of all, spoken by Hermione rather than Andromache. In the play she was cruel to her lover Orestes with disastrous effects for herself; she urges young women in the audience to be kinder. The tone is light but not bawdy. His imagination of a heaven and hell for kind and cruel beauties is, compared to Addison's suggestions of sex, abstract and somewhat moralistic. The tone is more like Pope's in *The Rape of the Lock* than that in Addison's jaunty epilogue. Johnson's nymphs in their heaven or hell are like Pope's sylphs or Belinda herself—airy but more innocent than Addison's Andromache, or rather his Anne Oldfield, since it is really the sexy actor speaking at the end of the play rather than the character. It would be nice to know which Lichfield beauties played the parts of Andromache and Hermione in the entirely amateur local production; that might provide a further clue as to why Johnson gave the epilogue to Hermione.

Epilogue

intended to have been Spoke by a Lady who was to personate the Ghost of Hermione

Ye Blooming Train who give despair or Joy,
Bless with a Smile or with a Frown destroy,
In whose fair Cheeks destructive Cupids wait,
And with unerring Shafts distribute Fate,
Whose Snowy Breasts, whose animated Eyes, 5
Each Youth admires tho' each admirer dies,
Whilst you deride their Pangs in barb'rous Play,
Unpitying see them weep & hear them pray,
And unrelenting Sport Ten Thousand lives away.
For you ye fair I quit the gloomy Plains, 10
Where Sable Night in all her Horror reigns;
No fragrant Bow'rs, no delightful Glades,
Receive th' unhappy Ghosts of Scornful Maids.
For kind, for tender Nymphs the Myrtle blooms,
And weaves her bending boughs in pleasing Glooms, 15
Perennial Roses deck each Purple Vale,
And Scents ambrosial breath in every Gale;
Far hence are banish'd Vapours, Spleen & Tears,
Tea, Scandal, Ivory Teeth and Languid Airs;

¶3 ***Title. Lady:*** 'A word of complaisance [civility] used of women' (*Dict.*, sense 3); not an honorific. Hermione died by suicide in Act 5, driven mad by her own success in having King Pyrrhus, her betrothed, murdered because he left her for Andromache.

1. Blooming: just coming into full beauty. ***Train:*** 'a set or class of people' (*OED*, 'train', 9).

4. Shafts: Cupid's arrows.

5. Snowy Breasts: pure white; a convention of Petrarchan love poetry.

7. barb'rous: cruel; uncivilized.

9. Sport: 'play or toy with' (*OED*, 4a).

10. gloomy Plains: reminiscent of Virgil's 'plains of mourning' (*Aeneid*, 6.441), inhabited by the souls of unhappy heroines.

11. Sable: black.

14–27. Recalling ancient descriptions of Elysium, the home of blessed souls; see, e.g., Homer, *Odyssey*, 4.563–68; Pindar, *Olympian Odes*, 2.61–78; Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6.637–59, 673–75.

14. Nymphs: beautiful young women. ***Myrtle:*** a shrub sacred to Venus.

17. Gale: gentle breeze.

18. Vapours: '[In the plural.] Diseases caused by flatulence, or by diseased nerves; hypochondriacal maladies; melancholy; spleen' (*Dict.*, sense 5). ***Spleen:*** 'Melancholy; hypochondriacal vapours' (*Dict.*, sense 4).

19. Scandal: aspersion damaging to reputation; rumor; slander. ***Ivory Teeth:*** a very expensive kind of denture.

No Pug nor favourite Cupid there enjoys 20
The balmy Kiss for which poor Thyrsis dies;
Form'd to delight they use no foreign Arms,
Nor Tort'ring Whalebones pinch them into Charms;
No Conscious Blushes there their Cheeks inflame,
For those who feel no Guilt can know no Shame; 25
Unfaded Still their former Charms they Shew,
Around them pleasures wait, and Joys for ever New.
But cruel Virgins meet Severer Fates;
Expell'd & Exil'd from the blissful Seats,
To dismal Realms, & Regions void of Peace, 30
Where furies ever howl and Serpents hiss,
O'er the sad Plains Perpetual Tempests sigh,
And Pois'nous Vapours, blackning all the Sky,
With livid hue the Fairest Face o'ercast,
And every Beauty Withers at the blast; 35
Where e'er they fly their Lovers Ghosts persue,
Inflicting all those Ills which once they knew;
Vexation, Fury, Jealousy, Despair,
Vex every Eye & every Bosom tear,
Their foul deformities by all descry'd 40
No Maid to flatter & no Paint to hide;
Then Melt ye Fair, while Crouds around you sigh,
Nor let Disdain sit low'ring in your Eye;
With Pity soften every awful Grace,
And Beauty Smile Auspicious in each Face; 45
To ease their Pains exert your Milder Power,
So shall you Guiltless reign & all Mankind adore.

---

20. Pug: a nickname for a pet monkey or dog. ***Cupid:*** 'a representation of the god; a beautiful young boy' (*OED*, 1a).

21. Thyrsis: a conventional name for a love-lorn shepherd in pastoral poetry, originally in Theocritus (*Idylls*, 1) and Virgil (*Eclogues*, 7).

23. Tort'ring Whalebones: tight corsets, stays, or farthingales, all usually stiffened with whalebone.

24. Conscious: 'affected by a feeling of guilt' (*OED*, 1).

34. livid: pale or flushed with anger.

41. Paint: cosmetics.

44. awful: inspiring awe.

45. Auspicious: showing favor.

47. Mankind adore: perhaps an echo of *Rape of the Lock*, 2.8: 'Infidels adore'.

4 TRANSLATION FROM VIRGIL, *ECLOGUES*, 1 (1726–27)

Composition and Publication

This is one of twelve surviving exercises that Johnson did while a student at Stourbridge Grammar School from June 1726 to June 1727 (Reade, 3.155) when he was sixteen or seventeen years old.

Text

Boswell received manuscripts of this and eleven other exercises done at Stourbridge through the help of Johnson's friend William Bowles of Heale House (Waingrow, *Corr*., p. 178). He convinced Mr. John Wentworth, nephew of Johnson's headmaster at the Stourbridge Grammar School, to lend Boswell the manuscripts but begged their return. Boswell had his servant James Ross make transcriptions, and several of these survive. Boswell made a few changes to these transcriptions, perhaps looking at the original manuscripts (which are now untraced), perhaps not. We have silently accepted some of Boswell's changes in punctuation and spelling as well as marking a few other differences. The Latin text is from the 1670 Amsterdam edition of Virgil by Nicolaas Heinsius; Johnson took a copy of Heinsius's edition (date unknown) to Pembroke College in 1728 (Reade, 5.217). Our copy-text is the transcription by James Ross in the Beinecke Library, docketed as 'Boswell Collection, Series 4, Life of Johnson, Papers Apart (M145), p. 1'. See Boswell, *Life* (1791), 1.17 (*Life*, 1.51).

Models and Sources

The *Eclogues*, Virgil's first published work (*c*.38 BCE), is a collection of ten pastoral poems inspired by the Greek bucolics of Theocritus (3rd century BCE). Against the backdrop of an imaginary and ideal landscape, and through a cast of rustic characters, Virgil explores themes of love, poetry, and politics. In the first (and

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the ninth) he addresses the distress caused by the confiscation of rural land by the triumvirs Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus (43–33 BCE) for the use of veterans of the civil wars. The first Eclogue is a conversation between two rustic figures, of whom one has been dispossessed and is leaving his native land, while the other has been granted a reprieve by a powerful figure who must be Octavian (the future emperor Augustus).

MELIBOEUS, TITYRUS

Mel. *Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi*
Silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena:
Nos patriae fines, & dulcia linquimus arva;
Nos patriam fugimus: tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
formosam resonare doces Amarillyda silvas. *5*
Tit. *O Meliboee, Deus nobis haec otia fecit.*
Namque erit ille mihi semper deus: illius aram
Saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus.
Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, & ipsum
Ludere, quae vellem, calamo permisit agresti. *10*
Mel. *Non equidem invideo: miror magis. undique totis*
Usque adeo turbatur agris. en ipse capellas
Protenus aeger ago: hanc etiam vix, Tityre, duco.
Hic inter densas corulos modo namque gemellos,
Spem gregis, ah silice in nuda connixa reliquit. *15*
Saepe malum hoc nobis, si mens non laeva fuisset,
De coelo tactas memini praedicere quercus:
Saepe sinistra cava praedixit ab ilice cornix.

(MEL. Tityrus, as you recline beneath the shelter of a broad beech, you compose woodland music on your slender oaten pipe. We are leaving our country's borders and sweet fields. We are fleeing our country. You, Tityrus, relaxing in the shade, teach the woods to re-echo 'beautiful Amaryllis'.

TIT. Meliboeus, a god made me this leisure. For he will always be a god to me, and often a tender lamb from my folds will soak his altar. He it was who, as you see, allowed my cattle to roam and (10) me to play what I wanted on the woodland reed.

MEL. For my part, I am not envious but, rather, amazed. The whole countryside is in such a tumult. Look, I myself am driving on my goats, sick at heart. This one, Tityrus, I can barely lead. For here amid the thick hazel-trees, she gave birth to twins, the hope of the flock, and left them behind, alas!, on the bare rock. I recall that oaks struck by lightning often warned me of this evil, if only my mind had not been obtuse; often a crow on the left predicted this from a hollow oak.)

Johnson translates only lines 1–18 of a poem that (in early editions) extends to 83 or 84 lines. Johnson's version is seven lines longer than Virgil's partly because the Latin hexameter is a longer line than Johnson's iambic pentameter. As observed by Slimp (1998: 112), Johnson's version is indebted to the translation of Dryden (1697; see Dryden, *Works*, 5.73), especially in the first twelve lines. Lee (2021: 67–68) suggests conscious rivalry with Dryden.

Context

In *Adventurer* 92 (22 September 1753) Johnson praised Virgil's *Eclogues* 1 and 10 above the rest, and said in conclusion, 'notwithstanding the excellence of the tenth pastoral, I cannot forbear to give the preference to the first' (Yale, 2.422). He especially singles out for praise lines 3–5 (his lines 3–6); 12–15 (his 17–20); and 47–59 (46–58 in modern texts, which he does not translate). *Rambler*s 36–37 provide a highly critical discussion of pastoral poetry in general, but Johnson praises Virgil and infers from his reading of Virgil the following definition of the form: 'a poem in which any action or passion is represented by its effects upon a country life' (Yale, 3.201).

Translation of *Virgils Pastoral* the 1st.

MELIBAEUS

Now, Tit'rus, you, supine and careless laid,
Play on your Pipe beneath this Beechen shade;
While wretched we about the World must roam
And leave our pleasing fields and native home,
Here at your ease you sing your amorous flame   5
And the Wood rings with Amarillis' name.

¶4 ***Title.*** *Ross*] Translation of Virgil. Pastoral I. *Life*
1. **Now** *Life*] How *Ross*
6. **Amarillis'** *Life*] Amerillis *Ross*

¶4 ***Melibaeus:*** a variant of Virgil's 'Meliboeus', but Ross may have misread SJ's writing.
1. ***supine***: 'Lying with the face upward' (*Dict.*, sense 1).
4. Cf. Dryden's translation, l. 4, 'Forc'd from our pleasing Fields and Native Home' (Slimp 1998: 112).
6. Translates l. 5 of the *Eclogue*, of which SJ said, 'All the modern languages … cannot furnish so melodious a line' (*Life*, 1.460). ***Amarillis:*** a variant of Virgil's 'Amaryllis'.

TITYRUS

Those blessings, friend, a deity bestow'd,
For I shall never think him less than God;
Oft on his Altar shall my firstlings lye,
Their blood the consecrated stones shall dye: 10
He gave my flocks to graze the flowery meads
And me to tune at ease the unequall reeds.

MELIBAEUS

My admiration only I expres'd
(No spark of envy harbours in my breast)
That when confusion o'er the Country reigns, 15
To you alone this happy state remains.
Here I, tho' faint myself, must drive my Goats,
Far from their antient fields and humble cots.
This scarce I lead, who left on yonder rock
Two tender kids, the hopes of all the flock. 20
Had we not been perverse and careless grown,
This dire event by omens was foreshown;
Our trees were blasted by the Thunder stroke
And left-hand crows from an old hollow oak
Foretold the coming evil by their dismal croak. 25

---

7. Cf. Dryden's translation, l. 7, 'These Blessings, Friend, a Deity bestow'd'.

8. Cf. Dryden's translation, l. 8, 'For never can I deem him less than God'. The reference is probably to Octavian, the triumvir and future emperor Augustus.

9. firstlings: first-born (sheep or goats); cf. Deuteronomy 15:19: 'All the firstling males that come of thy herd and of thy flock thou shalt sanctify unto the LORD thy God' (cited in *Dict.*).

12. unequall reeds: the Pan pipes.

13. admiration: wonder, a Latinate sense corresponding to Virgil's 'miror' (I wonder).

18. Not in Virgil.

21. careless: inattentive.

24–25. Line 18 of Heinsius's text is an interpolated version of Virgil, *Eclogues*, 9.14–15, 'nisi … ante sinistra cava monuisset ab ilice cornix' (unless a crow on the left had first warned me from a hollow oak …); it is excised by modern editors but commonly appeared in old editions, including, evidently, SJ's text, whether or not this was Heinsius.

24. left-hand: on the left, hence sinister, ominous (*OED*, 1a). ***crows:*** Thrale-Piozzi noted in her copy of Boswell's *Life*, 'it was a Single Crow—ever ominous in all countries' (Fletcher 1963: 1.21; Lee 2021: 66–68).

25. An alexandrine to round off the concluding triplet. SJ identifies these devices as characteristic of Dryden (Yale, 21.491). ***dismal:*** derived from Lat. 'dies malus' (evil day). 'It is already noticeable how even in this early piece Johnson employs etymological meanings to enrich his language' (Fleeman).

5
TRANSLATION FROM VIRGIL, *ECLOGUES*, 5
(1726–27)

Composition and Publication

Johnson composed this exercise, like his translation from Virgil, *Eclogues*, 1 (see p. 18 above), at Stourbridge between June 1726 and June 1727.

Text

A partial holograph manuscript (ll. 32–48, 53–56), signed 'Sam: Johnson', exists in the Hornby Library (Liverpool Libraries and Information Services Special Collections); a printed transcription, lines 32–52, is found in a Sotheby's Catalogue for 21 May 1890 (*Catalogue of an Important Collection of Autograph Letters*, lot 59 [Fleeman, *Handlist* 1, no. 9]). A transcription by James Ross of all but the last four lines is contained in the Boswell Collection of the Beinecke Library (Series 2, Samuel Johnson, Juvenilia: copies [C 1606], p. 1). The poem was first printed in Yale (pp. 6–7), though it relegates the four lines (49–52) recorded in Ross but missing from the holograph to a textual note; Oxford includes them in its 1974 version. Our copy-text is Ross's transcript, except for lines 32–38 and 53–56, which follow the holograph; we have added end-line punctuation to the lines only recorded by Ross. The Latin text is based on the edition of Heinsius (see above p. 18).

Models and Sources

Virgil's *Eclogue* 5 begins with a conversation between two shepherds, Mopsus and Menalcas. They compliment each other on their singing and agree to sing songs for one another. Mopsus begins with a song about the death of the pastoral hero Daphnis. After another exchange of compliments, Menalcas caps the song of Mopsus by singing of the deification of Daphnis. The poem ends with further compliments and an exchange of gifts. Johnson does not translate the whole poem but omits the opening, middle, and closing conversations (he translates lines 20–44 and 56–80 of Virgil, omitting lines 1–19, 45–55, and 81–90). This eliminates the lively personal exchanges of the characters. He also runs the two songs together: the end of Mopsus's song runs straight into Menalcas's.

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This eliminates the element of competition between the two shepherds, whereby one caps the song of the other by raising the theme to a new level (from the mere death to the deification of Daphnis). Johnson does, however, cover the heart of the poem, the two 'hymns'. Virgil's 50 lines become 56 in Johnson, with a degree of expansion comparable to that in *Eclogue* 1 (see Slimp 1998: 112–13, 129, n. 12; Baldwin 2015: 58); that of course is to be expected when dactylic hexameter is expressed in shorter pentameter. As he does increasingly in later translations, Johnson omits or simplifies some specific names in the original (e.g., Pales, Damoetas, Ariusia) (Slimp 1998: 113).

MENALCAS, MOPSUS

Mo. *Exstinctum nymphae crudeli funere Daphnin* *20*
Flebant: vos coruli testes, & flumina nymphis:
Cum, complexa sui corpus miserabile gnati,
Atque deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater.
Non ulli pastos illis egere diebus
Frigida, Daphni, boves ad flumina: ulla neque amnem *25*
Libavit quadrupes, nec graminis attigit herbam.
Daphni, tuum Poenos etiam ingemuisse leones
Interitum montesque feri silvaeque loquuntur.
Daphnis & Armenias curru subjungere tigris
Instituit, Daphnis thyasos inducere Baccho, *30*
Et foliis lentas intexere mollibus hastas.
Vitis ut arboribus decori est, ut vitibus uvae,
Ut gregibus tauri, segetes ut pinguibus arvis,
Tu decus omne tuis. postquam te fata tulerunt,
Ipsa Pales agros, atque ipse reliquit Apollo. *35*
Grandia saepe quibus mandavimus hordea sulcis,
Infelix lolium, & steriles nascuntur avenae.
Pro molli viola, pro purpureo narcisso,
Carduus & spinis surgit paliurus acutis.
Spargite humum foliis. inducite fontibus umbras, *40*
Pastores: mandat fieri sibi talia Daphnis.
Et tumulum facite, & tumulo superaddite carmen:
Daphnis ego in silvis, hinc usque ad sidera notus,
Formosi pecoris custos, formosior ipse.

- -

Me. *Candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi,*
Sub pedibusque videt nubes & sidera Daphnis.
Ergo alacris silvas, & caetera rura voluptas,
Panaque, pastoresque tenet, Dryadasque puellas.
Nec lupus insidias pecori, nec retia cervis *60*

Ulla dolum meditantur. amat bonus otia Daphnis.
Ipsi laetitia voces ad sidera jactant
Intonsi montes: ipsae jam carmina rupes,
Ipsa sonant arbusta, Deus, deus ille, Menalca.
Sis bonus ô felixque tuis! en quatuor aras: *65*
Ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebo;
Pocula bina novo spumantia lacte quotannis,
Craterasque duos statuam tibi pinguis olivi:
Et multo in primis hilarans convivia Baccho,
Ante focum, si frigus erit, si messis, in umbra, *70*
Vina novum fundam calathis Ariusia nectar.
Cantabunt mihi Damoetas & Lyctius Aegon;
Saltantis Satyros imitabitur Alphesiboeus.
Haec tibi semper erunt, & cum solennia vota
Reddemus nymphis, & cum lustrabimus agros. *75*
Dum juga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit,
Dumque thymo pascentur apes, dum rore cicadae,
Semper honos, nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.
Ut Baccho Cererique, tibi sic vota quotannis
Agricolae facient: damnabis tu quoque votis. *80*

([MOPSUS]

The nymphs wept over Daphnis, felled by a cruel death (you hazel-trees and rivers bear witness to the nymphs), when his mother embraced the pitiful body of her son and called the gods and stars cruel. In those days no one drove the cows to the cold rivers after they had grazed; no four-footed creature sipped the stream or touched a blade of grass. Daphnis, the wild mountains and forests say that even Punic lions bewailed your passing. Daphnis taught how to yoke Armenian tigers to a chariot and (30) how to perform dances for Bacchus and weave soft leaves around supple wands. As the vine is a glory to the trees, as grapes to the vine, as bulls to the flocks, as crops to fertile fields, so you are the whole glory to your people. After fate bore you away, Pales herself and Apollo himself deserted the fields. In the furrows where we sowed large barley seeds, unfruitful darnel grows and sterile oats. Instead of the soft violet, instead of the purple narcissus, the thistle and the thorn spring up with prickly barbs. (40) Scatter leaves on the ground and cover the springs with shade, you shepherds (Daphnis prescribes such honors for himself), and build a tomb, and add this verse above the tomb: 'I am Daphnis in the woods, known from here all the way to the stars, the guardian of a lovely flock, but lovelier still myself'.

[MENALCAS]

Radiant Daphnis marvels at the unfamiliar threshold of Olympus and sees the clouds and stars beneath his feet. Keen pleasure, therefore, grips the woods and all the fields, and Pan and shepherds and the Dryad girls. (60) The wolf contrives no ambush for

the flock, nor any nets a trap for the deer. Kind Daphnis loves peace. The unshorn mountains themselves throw their voices joyously to the stars; the rocks and trees themselves resound with songs: 'He's a god, a god, Menalcas!' Be kind and propitious to your people. Behold four altars; see, Daphnis, two for making offerings to you, and two for Phoebus. Each year I will set out for you two goblets foaming with fresh milk and two bowls of rich olive oil, and, most of all, gladdening the feast with plentiful wine—(70) before the hearth, if it's winter; if it's harvest time, in the shade—, I will pour from drinking cups the fresh nectar of Ariusian wine. Damoetas and Lyctian Aegon will sing for me, and Alphesiboeus will imitate the leaping satyrs. These will always be your rites, both when we pay our solemn vows to the nymphs and when we purify the fields. As long as the boar loves the mountain tops and fish the rivers, as long as bees feed on thyme and cicadas on dew, your glory, name, and praises will always remain. As they do to Bacchus and Ceres, the farmers will make annual vows to you; (80) you too will bind them to their vows.)

Context

In *Adventurer* 92 (22 September 1753) Johnson finds fault with *Eclogue* 5, despite its importance in the history of the genre: 'The fifth contains a celebration of Daphnis, which has stood to all succeeding ages as the model of pastoral elegies. To deny praise to a performance which so many thousands have laboured to imitate, would be to judge with too little deference for the opinion of mankind: yet whoever shall read it with impartiality, will find that most of the images are of the mythological kind, and therefore easily invented; and that there are few sentiments of rational praise, or natural lamentation' (Yale, 2.419).

The Hymns to Daphnis from the fifth Pastoral of Virgil

MOPSUS

The Nymphs bewail'd poor Daphnis' hapless death
Evn in the bloom of life depriv'd of Breath.
The limpid streams with ruefull murmurs flow
And all the withering woods confess their woe,

¶5 ***Title.*** *Ross*

¶5 *1*. ***Nymphs***: rural deities of the woods, springs, and mountains. ***Daphnis:*** son of Hermes and a nymph; a pastoral hero, whose untimely death is described in the first Idyll of Theocritus, the Greek inventor of the pastoral genre and source of Virgil's inspiration.

While his sad Mother frantick with despair 5
Accus'd the Gods and curs'd each luckless star.
That day that mournfull day, no chearfull song
With pleasing sound allur'd the rural throng.
The sympathising Cattle hung their Heads
Nor crop'd the tastfull herb, nor trac'd the verdant meads. 10
Touch'd with thy fate Numidia's Lyons roar
And spread their echoing Grief from Shore to Shore.
By Daphnis' skill th' Armenian Tigers broke
Endur'd the stinging lash, and tamely bore the Yoke.
Daphnis with Ivy wreath'd the Jav'lins round 15
And trod to Bacchus' praise the Mystick ground;
As vines the Elms, as grapes adorn the vine
As corn the fields, as Bulls the Herds of Kine.
So much our splendour was encreas'd by thine.
Now, at thy fall incens'd the rural Gods 20
Withdraw their Cars and seek the blesst abodes;
In vain the lab'ring Hind manures the plain
The banefull weeds spring up, and choak the grain;
Now each parterre with thorny Brakes is fill'd
Where late the lilies mix'd with violets smil'd. 25
Ye Swains! bestrow the ground with leaves and spread
O'er all the warbling founts a cooling shade;
On his dead body let a tomb be plac'd
And be the stone with this inscription grac'd:
'Here fairer than his flock the Shepherd lyes 30
Whose fame from earth resounded to the Skies.'

---

14. **stinging** *Yale*] shuging *Ross*

7–10. An altered form of Virgil's ll. 24–26.

10. trac'd: traversed.

11. Numidia: see SJ's translation of Horace, *Odes*, 1.22.15n (p. 12 above).

13–16. These lines associate Daphnis with ***Bacchus*** (l. 16), that is, Dionysus, god of wine and intoxication. The yoking of tigers was attributed to Bacchus, and his worship included ecstatic dancing and the wielding of 'thyrsi' or staffs wreathed with vine leaves.

13. Armenia: a mountainous region north of Mesopotamia.

18. Kine: plural of cow.

21. Cars: 'In poetical language, a chariot; a chariot of war, or triumph' (*Dict.*, sense 2).

22. Hind: farm worker.

24. parterre: an area ornamented with flower-beds. ***Brakes:*** 'A thicket of brambles, or of thorns' (*Dict.*, 'brake').

[MENALCAS]

Now beauteous Daphnis cloath'd with heav'nly light
Shuns Pluto's Kingdoms and the Realms of Night.
Beneath his feet admires each shining Star,
And sees the Motions of th' Harmonious Sphere. 35
Pleasure in ev'ry Nymph and Shepherd reigns,
And banish'd Sorrow flies the joyous Plains.
The harmless Wolves no more our Cattle fear,
No toils shall intercept the nimble Deer.
Rocks send their acclamations to the Skie, 40
And Woods and Mountains hail the Deity.
Attend my prayers propitious, hear my vow,
Here have I rais'd four sacred altars, two
To great Latona's Son, and two to you.
Two Bowls with oyl and Milk I'll yearly crown, 45
And pour them on the consecrated Stone.
Then we with wine will drown our troubles, laid
If winter by the fire; if Summer, in the Shade.
Thyrsis while sings shall the Gods
That range lascivious through the lonsome Roads, 50
When to the Nymphs the Swain due homage pays,
Libations he shall pour to Daphnis praise;
While Boars the rocks, while Fish the Rivers love,
While Bees shall feed on Thyme, and Birds shall haunt the grove,
Thou shalt with Bacchus equal honours share, 55
The Swains shall pay their vows, and thou shalt hear their prayer.

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40. **Skie** *Hornby*] Skies *Ross*
48. **Summer in** *Hornby*] summer by *Ross*
49–52. omitted in Hornby
53–56. omitted in Ross

---

33. Not in Virgil. ***Pluto:*** god of the underworld.
34. ***admires:*** wonders at (Virgil's 'miratur').
39. ***toils:*** nets or snares.
44. ***Latona's Son:*** Apollo, god of poetry and music.
49–50. ***Gods … Roads:*** satyrs; lustful woodland deities with the ears and tail of a horse. Neither the Hornby holograph nor the Sotheby's transcription has lines 49–52, which Oxford speculates had been lost from the holograph at the foot of the leaf. Ross leaves blanks in l. 49 where he obviously could not read the MS. Lines 72–73 of Virgil in our translation say, 'Damoetas and Lyctian Aegon will sing for me, and Alphesiboeus will imitate the leaping satyrs'. 'Aegon' probably belongs in the first blank and a one-syllable word meaning imitate (perhaps 'ape', 'mime', or 'play') in the second (Baldwin 2015: 58).
53–56. Missing in Ross. Since these lines are on the verso of the holograph, Oxford speculates that Ross 'simply failed to turn over'.

6
TRANSLATION OF HORACE, *ODES*, 2.9

Composition and Publication

This is another of Johnson's school exercises, probably from his days at Stourbridge (see headnote to 'Translation from Virgil, *Eclogues*, 1', p. 18 above).

Text

Boswell had his servant James Ross make a transcript of the borrowed autograph manuscript (see p. 18 above). The transcription is now in the Beinecke Library, docketed as Boswell Collection, Series 4, Life of Johnson, Papers Apart, M145, p. 4. Boswell published the poem in his *Life of Johnson* (1791), 1.18 (*Life* 1.52) with a few minor changes. Ross's transcription is our copy-text, but we silently accept Boswell's corrections of two apparent errors in transcription, as well as some minor changes in punctuation and spelling. The Latin text is taken from Bentley's Horace (1711). The meter is Alcaic, Horace's favorite.

Models, Sources, and Context

For an introduction to Horace, see headnote to the translation of *Odes*, 1.22 (p. 7 above). Horace addresses a friend who had evidently composed an elegy on the loss of Mystes, probably a favorite slave boy. Horace criticizes his incessant mourning and urges him to take up the theme of Augustus's recent victories. Line 9 of Johnson's translation blurs Horace's reference to Valgius's poetry—'flebilibus modis' (tearful measures). As in his translation of *Odes*, 1.22, Johnson generalizes some specific names (Slimp 1998: 118–19), especially unfamiliar ones such as Garganus (l. 7) and Troilus (l. 16), or substitutes ones that are more familiar, such as Boreas (l. 7) and Scythian (l. 22); and, as Venturo notes (pp. 38–39), his imagery is less precise and more conventional than Horace's.

Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos
Manant in agros; aut mare Caspium

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Vexant inaequales procellae
Usque; nec Armeniis in oris,

Amice Valgi, stat glacies iners 5
Mensis per omnis; aut Aquilonibus
Querceta Gargani laborant,
Et foliis viduantur orni.

Tu semper urgues flebilibus modis
Mysten ademtum; nec tibi Vespero 10
Surgente decedunt amores,
Nec rapidum fugiente solem.

At non ter aevo functus amabilem
Ploravit omnis Antilochum senex
Annos; nec inpubem parentes 15
Troïlon, aut Phrygiae sorores

Flevere semper. desine mollium
Tandem querelarum; & potius nova
Cantemus Augusti tropaea
Caesaris: & rigidum Niphaten, 20

Medumque flumen gentibus additum
Victis, minores volvere vertices;
Intraque praescriptum Gelonos
Exiguis equitare campis.

(Dear Valgius, not forever does rain drip from the clouds upon the unkempt fields, nor do shifting storms continually toss the Caspian Sea, nor does ice stand motionless on Armenia's shores through every month, nor do the oak woods of Garganus strain against north winds, nor are ash trees stripped of their leaves. But you perpetually harass Mystes, who has been taken from you, in tearful measures, (10) and neither at the rising of the evening star nor when it flees from the swift sun does your love subside. But the old man who had lived for three generations did not mourn his beloved Antilochus through all his years, nor did his Phrygian parents or sisters always weep for youthful Troilus. Put an end, at last, to your soft laments, and rather let us sing of Augustus Caesar's recent victories; (20) of frozen Niphates and the Persian river, now added to the conquered nations and rolling along diminished waves; and of the Geloni riding within strict bounds on narrow plains.)

Translation of Horace Book 2 Ode 9

Clouds do not always veil the skies,
  Nor showrs immerse the verdant plain;
Nor do the Billows always rise,
  Or storms afflict the ruffled Main.

Nor, Valgius, on th' Armenian Shores 5
  Do the chain'd waters always freeze;
Not always furious Boreas roars
  Or bends with violent force the Trees.

But you are ever drown'd in tears,
  For Mystes dead you ever mourn; 10
No setting Sol can ease your cares,
  But finds you sad at his return.

The wise experienc'd Grecian Sage
  Mourn'd not Antilochus so long;
Nor did King Priam's hoary age 15
  So much lament his Slaughter'd Son.

¶6 ***4. Main:*** open sea; SJ generalizes the sea, which Horace names as the Caspian (l. 2).

5. Valgius: C. Valgius Rufus, a friend of Horace who was also a scholar and poet. ***Armenian Shores:*** in Horace's day the region known as Armenia stretched from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea.

6. Nor are the waters always chained by ice.

7. Boreas: the north wind; SJ substitutes its more familiar name for Horace's 'Aquilones' (l. 7).

8. Trees: Horace identifies the trees as oaks of Garganus (l. 7).

10. Mystes: the Greek name suggests a slave boy. Johnson may have taken him to be a son, an interpretation found in some old commentaries (e.g., the Delphine *Horace* [1705], 125).

11. Sol: the sun.

13. Sage: Nestor, king of Pylos, a long-lived and wise councilor of the Greeks in the *Iliad.*

14. Antilochus: son of Nestor, killed at Troy.

15. Priam: king of Troy; the son in Horace is Troilus, the youngest son of Priam and Hecuba, but SJ's vague wording would make most readers think of Hector, who was also killed by Achilles, as the *Iliad* relates.

Leave off, at length, these woman's sighs,
  Augustus' num'rous trophies sing;
Repeat that Prince's victories,
  To whom all Nations tribute bring. 20

Niphates rolls an humbler wave,
  At length th' undaunted Scythian yields,
Content to live the Roman's Slave
  And scarce forsakes his native fields.

18. Augustus: emperor of Rome from 31/27 BCE to 14 CE; he pursued an aggressive foreign policy and added much territory to the Roman empire.

21. Niphates: a mountain range in Armenia, famous as the first landing place of Satan on earth in *Paradise Lost* (3.742), but later poets misunderstood it to be a river. The river that Horace mentions is the Euphrates ('Medumque flumen', l. 21).

22. Scythian: an inhabitant of the lands to the north and east of the Black Sea. Horace uses the more specific name 'Geloni' (l. 23) and greatly exaggerates Augustus's victories in this part of the world.

24. Horace depicts the movements of his Scythian Geloni in greater detail (ll. 23–24).

7 TRANSLATION OF HORACE, *ODES*, 2.14 (1726–27)

Composition and Publication

Although it might have been written earlier, this is probably another of Johnson's exercises written at Stourbridge in 1726–27. See headnote to 'Translation from Virgil, *Eclogues*, 1' (p. 18 above).

Text

An autograph manuscript is in the Samuel Johnson Birthplace Museum, Lichfield, a part of the Lomax Collection (2001.71.70). Boswell saw this document and had a transcript made by James Ross, which is now in the Beinecke Library (Boswell Collection, Series 2, Samuel Johnson, Juvenilia: copies [C 1606], p. 8). He printed a facsimile of the last four lines at the conclusion of his *Life* 1791 (*Life*, 4.facing p. 431). Thomas G. Lomax of Lichfield acquired the autograph and published a transcript of the same four lines in a letter to *Notes & Queries* for 24 July 1858 (2nd Series, 6.134, p. 67). The autograph manuscript is our copy-text. It is neatly written out, pointed, and signed 'Sam: Johnson', as if for submission. The Latin text is Bentley's (1711), for which see headnote to Horace, *Odes*, 1.22 (p. 7 above). The meter is Alcaic.

Models and Sources

In this ode Horace reminds his listeners that death is unavoidable, no matter how much we try to appease Pluto. Even if we avoid war and shipwreck, we must visit the underworld and its mythological denizens. We must leave all of life's pleasures. A more deserving heir will drink up the Caecuban wine we hoarded, so there is a note of 'carpe diem' as well as of 'memento mori'.

As in his other translations of the *Odes*, Johnson is more general than the Roman author, and less dynamic in tone. Horace's pathetic 'Postume, Postume', for example, becomes 'dear Friend'. Such particular names as Geryon, Tityos, Cocytus, Sisyphus,

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Adriatic, Auster, and Caecuban disappear in favor of more general or more well-known names. Johnson's treatment of this ode is freer than his other Horatian translations (Slimp 1998: 119–20; Venturo, pp. 44–47). In the first stanza, for instance, he replaces Horace's picture of wrinkled old age with an image of 'fleeting years' that 'run' and 'roll'. In the last stanza, as noted by Venturo, he discards Horace's 'banquets of the pontiffs' and replaces the 'worthier heir' ('worthier' because, in the Epicurean spirit of carpe diem, he enjoys the wine rather than hoarding it) with 'the lavish heir'—a moralistic twist that subtly alters the original meaning.

Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,
Labuntur anni: nec pietas moram
Rugis & instanti senectae
Adferet, indomitaeque morti:

Non si trecenis, quotquot eunt dies, 5
Amice, places inlacrimabilem
Plutona tauris; qui ter amplum
Geryonen Tityonque tristi

Conpescit unda, scilicet omnibus,
Quicumque terrae munere vescimur, 10
Enaviganda; sive reges,
Sive inopes erimus coloni.

Frustra cruento Marte carebimus,
Fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae;
Frustra per Autumnos nocentem 15
Corporibus metuemus Austrum.

Visendus ater flumine languido
Cocytos errans, & Danai genus
Infame, damnatusque longi
Sisyphus Aeolides laboris. 20

Linquenda tellus, & domus, & placens
Uxor: neque harum, quas colis, arborum
Te, praeter invisas cupressos,
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur.

Absumet heres Caecuba dignior 25
Servata centum clavibus, & mero
Tinguet pavimentum superbo,
Pontificum potiore cenis.

(Alas, Postumus, Postumus, the fleeting years slip by, and piety will cause no delay to wrinkles, pressing old age, and invincible death, not even, my friend, if on every day that passes you propitiate hard-hearted Pluto with three hundred bulls—he who imprisons three-bodied Geryon and Tityos with the gloomy river that has to be crossed by all of us (10) that feed on the gifts of the earth, whether we are kings or impecunious peasants. In vain will we avoid bloody Mars and the choppy waves of the roaring Adriatic; in vain will we fear the noxious south wind each autumn. We must gaze upon black Cocytus, drifting with its sluggish stream, and the notorious offspring of Danaus, and (20) Sisyphus, the son of Aeolus, condemned to unending labor. We must leave the earth, and our house, and dear wife, and none of these trees that you cultivate will follow you, their brief master, except for the hated cypresses. A worthier heir will consume the Caecuban guarded with a hundred keys and wet the floor with the proud wine, surpassing the banquets of the priests.)

Horace. Book 2. Ode 14.

Alass, dear Friend, the fleeting years
In everlasting Circles run,
In vain you spend your vows and prayers,
They roll, and ever will roll on.

Should Hecatombs each rising Morn 5
On cruel Pluto's Altar dye,
Should costly Loads of incense burn,
Their fumes ascending to the Skie;

You could not gain a Moment's breath,
Or move the haughty King below, 10
Nor would inexorable Death
Defer an hour the fatal blow.

¶7 ***1–2.*** Cf. Isaac Watts, *Hymns* (1707), no. 48, 'The Christian Race', ll. 11–12: 'endless Years / Their Everlasting Circles run' (Oxford).

5. Hecatombs: sacrifices of a hundred oxen (*OED*, 1); Horace specifies three hundred victims a day.

6. Pluto: king of the underworld.

7–8. SJ's 'incense' replaces Horace's detailed characterization of Pluto and the underworld.

10. haughty King: Pluto.

In vain we shun the Din of war,
And terrours of the Stormy Main,
In vain with anxious breasts we fear 15
Unwholesome Sirius' sultry reign;

We all must view the Stygian flood
That silent cuts the dreary plains,
And cruel Danaus' bloody Brood
Condemn'd to everduring pains. 20

Your shady Groves, your pleasing wife,
And fruitfull fields, my dearest Friend,
You'll leave together with your life,
Alone the Cypress shall attend.

After your death, the lavish heir 25
Will quickly drive away his woe,
The wine you kept with so much care
Along the marble floor shall flow.

14. Main: sea.
16. Sirius: the Dog-Star, whose rising at the height of summer ushers in a period of oppressive heat that was thought to bring on fever and disease.
17. Stygian flood: the Styx, the main river of the underworld, across which Charon ferries the dead.
19. Danaus' bloody Brood: the Danaids, daughters of Danaus, killed their husbands and were punished by having to pour water into leaky vessels for eternity.
20. everduring: everlasting.
24. Cypress: a tree associated with funerals and death in ancient Rome, like yew trees in British graveyards. Horace calls them 'invisas' (hated).
25. lavish heir: for Horace's 'worthier heir' (see headnote); a stock phrase, found, e.g., in Aphra Behn, Matthew Prior, and Elijah Fenton.

8 TRANSLATION OF HORACE, *ODES*, 2.20 (1726–27)

Composition and Publication

This is another school exercise, probably for Stourbridge where Johnson studied in 1726–27. See headnote to 'Translation from Virgil, *Eclogues*, 1' (p. 18 above).

Text

The copy-text is a signed autograph manuscript in the Hyde Collection at Harvard, MS Hyde 50 (25). There is a transcript by James Ross in the Beinecke Library (Boswell Collection, Series 2, Samuel Johnson, Juvenilia: copies [C 1606], p. 9). The Latin text is Bentley's (see p. 7 above); the meter is Alcaic.

Models and Sources

In the last poem of *Odes*, Book 2, Horace imagines his metamorphosis into a swan as a way of predicting world-wide fame after his death. His pride and his belief in himself are real, but there is a wry humor in the description of his metamorphosis that tempers the grandiosity of his claim.

Non usitata, nec tenui ferar
Penna biformis per liquidum aethera
  Vates; neque in terris morabor
    Longius; invidiaque major

Urbis relinquam. non ego, Pauperum 5
Sanguis parentum, non ego quem vocas,
  Dilecte Maecenas, obibo;
    Nec Stygia cohibebor unda.

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Jam jam residunt cruribus asperae
Pelles; & album mutor in alitem 10
Superne; nascunturque leves
Per digitos humerosque plumae.

Jam Daedaleo ocior Icaro,
Visam gementis litora Bospori,
Syrtisque Gaetulas, canorus 15
Ales, Hyperboreosque campos.

Me Colchus, &, qui dissimulat metum
Marsae cohortis, Dacus, & ultimi
Noscent Geloni: me peritus
Discet Hiber, Rhodanique potor. 20

Absint inani funere naeniae,
Luctusque turpes, & querimoniae:
Conpesce clamorem, ac sepulcri
Mitte supervacuos honores.

(I will be carried through the clear sky on no ordinary or slight wing, a bard of double shape; I will linger on earth no longer and, superior to envy, I will leave its cities. I, the scion of poor parents, I whom you summon, dear Maecenas, will not die or be confined by the Stygian wave. Now, already now, rough skin is settling upon my legs and, up above, (10) I am changing into a white swan, and smooth feathers are sprouting over my fingers and shoulders. Swifter than Icarus, the son of Daedalus, I will visit the shores of the roaring Bosphorus, the Gaetulian Syrtes, and the Hyperborean plains as a melodious bird. The Colchian and the Dacian, who disguises his fear of the Marsian cohort, and the far-off Geloni will get to know me; (20) the educated Spaniard will learn me, and he who drinks the Rhone. Let there be no dirges, unseemly lamentations, and complaints at my empty funeral. Curb the crying aloud and dispense with the needless honor of a tomb.)

Johnson generalizes the whimsical details of Horace's gradual metamorphosis, and, as in his other translations, replaces some specific proper nouns with more common ones (Slimp 1998: 120–21; Venturo, pp. 39–40): Horace's Bosphorus, Syrtes, Hyperborean plains, Colchian, and Dacian disappear in favor of such names as Libya and Scythia. This general tendency is in one instance reversed, however, when Johnson adds the Phasis river to the Rhone (l. 20) to suggest the eastern and western ends of the Roman empire.

Context

Johnson had a life-long interest in the topic of authors' lives, but the confidence of Horace's ode, even granting Horace's wry tone (which Johnson does not imitate), does not accord with his descriptions of the vain aspirations of authors. It is further remarkable that Johnson omits Horace's mention of his humble origins. Ten years later in *London* (1738) he would characterize the life of the author in his famous line: 'SLOW RISES WORTH, BY POVERTY DEPREST' (l. 177).

Horace Book 2d Ode 20th

Now with no weak unballast wing
A Poet double-form'd I rise,
From th' envious world with scorn I spring,
And cut with joy the wond'ring Skies.

Though from no Princes I descend, 5
Yet shall I see the blest abodes,
Yet, great Maecenas, shall your friend
Quaff Nectar with th' immortal Gods.

See! how the mighty Change is wrought;
See! how whate'er remain'd of Man 10
By plumes is veil'd; see! quick as thought
I pierce the Clouds a tunefull Swan.

¶8 *11.* **veil'd** *Yale*] viel'd *Hyde, Ross*

¶8 *1.* ***unballast:*** unsteady.
2. ***double-form'd:*** as a poet and a swan.
5. Horace was the son of an emancipated slave and uses the word 'pauperum' (poor), which SJ avoids, to describe his parentage.
6–8. SJ's prediction of immortality elaborates on Horace's simple statement that he will not die. ***blest abodes:*** heaven; a common phrase; cf., e.g., Dryden, *Aeneis*, 10.7–8: 'Then thus th' Almighty Sire began: Ye Gods, / Natives, or Denizons, of blest Abodes' and Pope, 'The First Book of Statius His Thebais': 'And now th' Almighty Father of the Gods / Convenes a Council in the blest Abodes' (ll. 273–74).
7. ***Maecenas:*** advisor to Augustus and the greatest patron of his age; the first three books of Horace's *Odes* are dedicated to him.
8. ***Nectar:*** the drink of the gods according to Greek mythology.
11. ***plumes:*** feathers (Horace's 'plumae').
12. ***tunefull Swan:*** SJ makes explicit what Horace implies. The swan was believed to sing a beautiful song (a swan song) at

Swifter than Icarus I'll flie
Where Lybia's swarthy offspring burns,
And where beneath th' inclement Skie 15
The hardy Scythian ever mourns.

My Works shall propagate my fame,
To distant realms and climes unknown,
Nations shall celebrate my Name
That drink the Phasis or the Rhône. 20

Restrain your tears and cease your cries,
Nor grace with fading flours my Herse,
I without fun'ral elegies
Shall live for ever in my verse.

13. **I'll** *Yale*] Ill *Hyde, Ross*

the moment of its death and thus lent itself to comparison with poets; Horace describes Pindar as a swan raised high in flight (*Odes*, 4.2.25–27).

13. Icarus escaped from imprisonment in Crete when his father, Daedalus, invented wings; when Icarus flew too near the sun, the wax holding together his wings melted, and he drowned in the sea.

14. Lybia: 'Libya' in classical Latin; an area of north Africa under Roman rule.

16. Scythian: see SJ's translation of Horace, *Odes*, 2.9.22n (p. 31 above). Horace's Geloni (l. 19) were Scythians, but he does not mention their climate or mourning.

20. Phasis: a river (the modern Rioni) flowing through Georgia and into the Black Sea; this river is SJ's addition. The ***Rhône***, in the south of Roman Gaul, flows into the Mediterranean.

22. SJ's speaker forgoes a hearse strewn with flowers rather than the tomb eschewed by Horace, ll. 23–24.

9
TRANSLATION OF HORACE, *EPODES*, 2
(1726–27)

Composition and Publication

This is another school exercise, probably for Stourbridge where Johnson studied in 1726–27. See headnote to 'Translation from Virgil, *Eclogues*, 1' (p. 18 above).

Text

The copy-text is a signed autograph manuscript in the Hyde Collection, MS Hyde 50 (26). There is also a transcript by James Ross in the Beinecke Library (Boswell Collection, Series 2, Samuel Johnson, Juvenilia: copies [C 1606], pp. 3–5). Although it is signed, apparently for submission to his teacher, the manuscript contains several cross-outs and insertions. We record these, but we do not record the variants in the Ross manuscript because they seem only to be errors in transcription, rather than evidence of a second manuscript. The Latin text is Bentley's (see p. 7 above); the meter is iambic trimeter over iambic dimeter.

Models and Sources

The *Epodes* are a miscellaneous collection of seventeen poems that Horace composed in the earliest phase of his poetic career during the 30s BCE. Their formal model was the iambic poetry of Archilochus and others, which was marked by acerbic wit and lubricity. Horace's speaker in *Epode* 2 idealizes rural life, which he says is free from danger and involves pleasant tasks and activities. If he has a good wife who prepares homegrown food, he could find no greater pleasure in the most luxurious foods. He imagines the pleasure of eating such a meal and watching one's livestock returning home and slaves gathered around the hearth. The speech ends at line 66. The last four lines reveal that the speaker was a moneylender, who carries on with his city trade as usual, calling in his money at the end of the month and lending it out again at the beginning of the next. Horace appears to be satirizing the bourgeois attitude to rural life struck by urbanites who have no real experience of it. Even before the last four lines, there are hints throughout the poem that the encomium is not what it appears. The praises are extravagant and the reference to debt in line 4 is suspicious, as is the

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speaker's familiarity with gourmet foods. The bathos of the last four lines confirms one's suspicions and reveals the speaker as a money-grubbing hypocrite. Even if they took the praise of the country literally, knowledgeable readers of Horace would have expected a twist at the end to satisfy the character of the genre—what Dryden called 'keen iambics' in his satire on a poet incapable of such sharpness, *MacFlecknoe* (l. 204). Dryden, in fact, translated this epode in his *Sylvae* (1685) (*Works*, 3.85).

As in his other translations of Horace, Johnson tends to reduce proper or unusual names to common names or general references (Slimp 1998: 114–15). The moralizing note he adds in lines 77–78 is also characteristic. Horace lets Alfius's hypocrisy speak for itself, but young Johnson is father to the man who would find that Shakespeare's greatest fault was being 'more careful to please than to instruct' (Yale, 7.71).

Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis,
Ut prisca gens mortalium,
Paterna rura bobus exercet suis,
Solutus omni fenore;
Neque excitatur classico miles truci, 5
Nec horret iratum mare;
Forumque vitat, & superba civium
Potentiorum limina.
Ergo aut adulta vitium propagine
Altas maritat populos; 10
Aut in reducta valle mugientium
Prospectat errantis greges;
Inutilisve falce ramos amputans,
Feliciores inserit;
Aut pressa puris mella condit amphoris; 15
Aut tondet infirmas ovis.
Vel, cum decorum mitibus pomis caput
Autumnus agris extulit,
Ut gaudet insitiva decerpens pyra,
Certantem & uvam purpurae, 20
Qua muneretur te, Priape, & te, pater
Silvane tutor finium!
Libet jacere modo sub antiqua ilice,
Modo in tenaci gramine:
Labuntur altis interim rivis aquae; 25
Queruntur in silvis aves;
Fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus,
Somnos quod invitet leves.
At cum tonantis annus hibernus Jovis
Imbris nivesque conparat, 30
Aut trudit acris hinc & hinc multa cane
Apros in obstantis plagas;

Aut amite levi rara tendit retia,
Turdis edacibus dolos;
Pavidumve leporem, & advenam laqueo gruem, 35
Jocunda captat praemia.
Quis non malarum, quas amor curas habet,
Haec inter obliviscitur?
Quod si pudica mulier in partem juvet
Domum atque dulcis liberos, 40
Sabina qualis aut perusta solibus
Pernicis uxor Appuli;
Sacrum vetustis exstruat lignis focum,
Lassi sub adventum viri;
Claudensque textis cratibus laetum pecus, 45
Distenta siccet ubera;
Et horna dulci vina promens dolio,
Dapes inemtas adparet;
Non me Lucrina juverint conchylia,
Magisve rhombus aut scari, 50
Si quos Eois intonata fluctibus
Hiems ad hoc vertat mare.
Non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum,
Non attagen Ionicus
Jocundior, quam lecta de pinguissimis 55
Oliva ramis arborum,
Aut herba lapathi prata amantis, & gravi
Malvae salubres corpori,
Vel agna festis caesa Terminalibus,
Vel hoedus ereptus lupo. 60
Has inter epulas, ut juvat pastas ovis
Videre properantis domum!
Videre fessos vomerem inversum boves
Collo trahentis languido;
Positosque vernas, ditis examen domus, 65
Circum renidentis Lares!
Haec ubi locutus fenerator Alfius,
Jam jam futurus rusticus,
Omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam;
Quaerit Calendis ponere. 70

('Happy the man who, far removed from troubles, works his ancestral fields with his oxen like the ancient race of mortals, free from all debt. He is not awakened by a fierce trumpet like the soldier, nor does he tremble at the angry sea; he avoids both the forum and the haughty thresholds of powerful citizens. (10) Therefore, he either weds tall poplars to a full-grown layer of the vines, or in a hidden valley views his roaming herds

of lowing animals, or, pruning useless branches with a sickle, grafts on more fruitful ones; or presses out and stores up honey in clean jars, or shears weak sheep. Or when autumn has raised from the fields its head adorned with ripened fruits, how he rejoices to pluck the pears that he grafted (20) and the grape that rivals purple dye, to bestow as gifts on you, Priapus, and you, father Silvanus, the guardian of his boundaries! He enjoys reclining now beneath an ancient oak, now in the clinging grass; meanwhile, the waters glide along in deep streams, birds warble in the woods, and springs with their running waters babble, inducing gentle sleep. But when the wintry season of thundering Jupiter (30) produces rainstorms and snow, he either drives fierce boars with many a dog from here and there into nets that lie in their way, or spreads out wide-meshed nets with a smooth pole as traps for greedy thrushes; or catches a timid hare and migratory crane with a snare, delicious prizes. Amidst all this who does not forget the painful cares belonging to love? But if a chaste wife, for her part, should tend to (40) the house and sweet children, like a Sabine woman or the sunburnt wife of a vigorous Apulian, and heap the sacred hearth with old logs to welcome the arrival of her weary husband, and, penning the sleek flock with a wicker fence, drain dry their swollen udders, and, decanting this year's wine from a sweet jar, prepare unpurchased meals—then Lucrine oysters would give me no more pleasure, (50) or the turbot, or any wrasses that a storm, thundering over the eastern waves, should divert into these waters; neither the African fowl nor the Ionian partridge would delight me more as they sank into my stomach than an olive picked from the richest branches of the trees, or the leaf of the meadow-loving sorrel and mallows beneficial to a loaded body, or a lamb slaughtered at the festival of Terminus, (60) or a kid snatched away from a wolf. In the midst of such a feast, how delightful it is to see the sheep hurrying home from pasture, to see the exhausted oxen dragging the upturned plough on their drooping neck, and the home-born slaves—the swarm of a wealthy house—placed round the gleaming household gods.' Having said these things, the moneylender Alfius, on the verge of becoming a countryman, collected all his money on the Ides and (70) sought to lend it out on the Kalends.)

Horace. Epode the 2[d]

Blest as th' immortal Gods is he
Who lives from toilsome bus'ness free,
Like the first race in Saturn's reign
When floods of Nectar stain'd the main,
Manuring with laborious hand 5

¶9 ***1.*** Also the first line of Ambrose Philips's translation of an ode by Sappho (31), set to music by S. Stubley and signed 'Theophilus' in *GM*, 9 (October 1739), 493.

3. Saturn: the god who reigned over the first of the four (or five) races of humans in the Golden Age.

4. Nectar: the drink of the gods (cf. SJ's translation of Horace, *Odes*, 2.20, l. 8). ***main:*** the open sea.

His own hereditary Land,
Whome no contracted debts molest
No griping Creditors infesst.
No trumpets' sound, no Soldiers' cries,
Drive the soft Slumbers from his eyes, 10
He sees no boist'rous Tempests sweep
The Surface of the boiling Deep,
Him no contentious suits in law
From his belov'd retirement draw,
He ne'er with forc'd Submission waits 15
Obsequious, at his Patron's gates;
But round the lofty Poplar twines
With artfull hand the teeming vines,
Or prunes the barren boughs away;
[Or] sees from far his Bullocks play, 20
Or drains the Labour of the Bees,
Or sheers the Lambkins' snowy fleece.
Or when with golden Apples crown'd
Autumn o'erlooks the smiling Ground
When rip'ning fruits perfume the year, 25
Plucking the blushing Grape and Pear,
Gratefull, rewards the Deities,
That, fav'ring, listen to his cries.
Beneath some spreading Ilex Shade
On some green bank supinely Laid, 30
Where Riv'lets gently purl along
And, murm'ring, balmy Sleep prolong,
Whilst each Musician of the Grove
Lamenting warbles out his love,

¶9 ***11.*** ~~Northern~~ boist'rous
20. **Or** *suppl. Oxford 1941*] *MS torn*
27. ~~Rewards the fav'ring Deities~~
28. ~~That grant his Prayers, and hear his cries.~~
29. ~~venerable~~ spreading Ilex

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12. ***boiling:*** turbulent.

16. The patron–client institution in ancient Rome required clients (dependents, social inferiors) to attend their patrons in the early morning.

17–19. Pruned poplars and other trees were used as supports for vines.

27. ***Deities:*** replacing Horace's Priapus and Silvanus, tutelary gods of cultivated and uncultivated land.

29. ***Ilex:*** holm-oak.

30. ***supinely:*** 'Drowsily; thoughtlessly; indolently' (*Dict.*, sense 2).

In pleasing Dreams he cheats the Day 35
Unhurt by Phoebus' fi'ry ray.
But when increas'd by Winter shours
Down cliffs the roaring Torrent pours
The grizly foaming Boar surrounds
With twisted toils, and op'ning hounds; 40
Sometimes the greedy Thrush to kill
He sets his nets, employs his skill.
With secret springes oft ensnares
The screaming Cranes and fearfull Hares.
Would not these pleasures soon remove 45
The bitter pangs of slighted love?
If to compleat this heav'nly Life
A frugal, chast, industrious, Wife,
Such as the Sun-burnt Sabines were,
Divide the burden of his care, 50
And heap the fire, and milk the Kine
And crown the bowl with new-prest wine,
And waiting for her weary lord
With unbought dainties load the board;
I should behold with scornfull eye 55
The studied arts of Luxury:
No fish from the Carpathian coast

39–40. **The grizly … hounds**] *struck out but retained. In margin:*
~~The foaming Boar he then with op'ning hounds~~
~~And twisted~~

45. ~~Such Pleasures quickly would~~

56. ~~various~~ studied

57–62. ~~Whate're the swarthy Lybian boasts,~~
~~Whate'er from India spicy coasts~~
~~Driv'n hither by inclement skies~~
~~I once admir'd, I'd then despise;~~
~~The painted meads and Forrests nigh~~
~~Can more delicious food supply.~~

---

36. Phoebus: Apollo, standing here for the sun.

40. toils: nets. ***op'ning:*** barking; 'a term of hunting' (*Dict.* s.v. 'to open' [intransitive], sense 2).

43. springes: nooses, snares.

49. Sabines: an Italian people renowned for their industry and old-fashioned morality; for their location, see p. 10n.

51. Kine: cows, plural.

54. Cf. Dryden's translation in *Sylvae* (1685), l. 72, 'And unbought dainties of the poor' (Slimp 1998: 129 n. 18).

57. Carpathian: Carpathos is an island between Crete and Rhodes.

By Eastern Tempests hither tost,
Nor Lybian fowls, nor Snipes of Greece,
So much my Appetite would please 60
As herbs of which the forrests nigh
Wholsome variety supply.
Then to the Gods, on solemn days,
The farmer annuall honours pays
Or feasts on Kids the Wolves had kill'd 65
And frighted, left upon the field.
How pleas'd he sees his Cattle come,
Their dugs with milk distended, home!
How pleas'd beholds his Oxen bow
And faintly draw th' inverted Plow. 70
His chearfull Slaves, a num'rous band,
Around in beauteous order stand.
Thus did the Us'rer Alphius praise,
With transports kindled, rural ease,
His money he collected strait, 75
Resolv'd to purchase a retreat.
But still desires of sordid gain
Fix'd in his canker'd breast remain:
Next Month he sets it out again.

57. Fish~~es~~ from the
61. ~~fields~~ forrests
67. ~~Joyfull~~ How pleas'd
69. ~~He sees the wearied~~ How pleased beholds his

68. ***dugs:*** udders.
70. ***faintly:*** weakly. ***inverted:*** upturned (Horace's 'inversum'); the Roman ploughshare was swung clear of the ground when not in use.
73. ***Alphius:*** Alfius in Horace; a fictional moneylender. Dryden wrote, 'Morecraft', a usurer in *The Scornful Lady* by Beaumont and Fletcher (l. 96 and n.).
74. ***transports:*** fits of joy.
75. ***strait:*** straight away; promptly.
79. He collects his money from his creditors but instead of buying a retreat he lends it out again at the beginning of the next month. ***sets it out:*** 'put[s] out at interest' (*OED* 'set out', 15), an obsolete sense matching Horace's 'ponere'.

10

TRANSLATION OF HORACE, *EPODES*, 11 (1726–27)

Composition and Publication

This is another school exercise, probably for Stourbridge where Johnson studied in 1726–27. See headnote to 'Translation from Virgil, *Eclogues*, 1' (p. 18 above).

Text

Our copy-text is the transcript by James Ross in the Beinecke Library (Boswell Collection, Series 2, Samuel Johnson, Juvenilia: copies [C 1606], p. 6). Following Yale and Oxford, we add the divisions into stanzas, the spacing, and punctuation, all absent in the transcript but very probably present in the lost autograph. We also follow the earlier editors in emending Ross's transcript in several places (especially ll. 1, 7, 26). The text of Horace is Bentley's (see p. 7 above). The meter is Third Archilochian.

Models and Sources

Petti, nihil me, sicut antea, juvat
   Scribere versiculos, amore percussum gravi;
Amore, qui me praeter omnis expetit
   Mollibus in pueris aut in puellis urere.
Hic tertius December, ex quo destiti 5
   Inachia furere, silvis honorem decutit.
Heu me, per Urbem (nam pudet tanti mali)
   Fabula quanta fui! conviviorum ut poenitet,
In quis amantem & languor & silentium
   Arguit, & latere petitus imo spiritus! 10
Contrane lucrum nil valere candidum
   Pauperis ingenium, querebar adplorans tibi;
Simul calentis inverecundus Deus

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Fervidiore mero arcana promorat loco.
Quod si meis inaestuet praecordiis 15
Libera bilis, ut haec ingrata ventis dividat
Fomenta, vulnus nil malum levantia;
Desinet inparibus certare submotus pudor.
Ubi haec severus te palam laudaveram;
Jussus abire domum, ferebar incerto pede 20
Ad non amicos heu mihi postis & heu
Limina dura, quibus lumbos & infregi latus.
Nunc gloriantis quamlibet mulierculam
Vincere mollitie amor Lycisci me tenet:
Unde expedire non amicorum queant 25
Libera consilia, nec contumeliae graves;
Sed alius ardor aut puellae candidae,
Aut teretis pueri longam renodantis comam.

(Pettius, I take no pleasure in writing verses, as I did before, when stricken with grievous love—love, which attacks me beyond all others, to make me burn for tender boys or girls. This is the third December to shake the glory from the woods since I ceased to be mad for Inachia. Alas for me, what a subject of gossip I was throughout the city (for I feel ashamed of such a disgrace), and how I rue the dinners in which my languor and silence (10) and sighs drawn up from the bottom of my heart revealed me as a man in love! 'To think that a poor man's honest talent is powerless to compete with profit', I complained to you in tears, as soon as I grew heated with a fierier wine and the shameless god had brought my secrets out into the open. 'But if bile should freely boil in my heart, to scatter to the winds these useless salves that do nothing to relieve the harmful wound, my shame would be removed and cease to contend with those who are not my equals.' When I had soberly approved this plan in your presence, (20) you told me to go home, but I was carried on unsteady feet to the door that, alas, was unfriendly to me, and, alas, its hard threshold, on which I crushed my hips and side. Now I am gripped by love for Lyciscus, who boasts that he exceeds in softness any woman. Neither the candid advice nor the stern reproaches of my friends can free me from this, but only another passion, for a lovely girl or a shapely boy unknotting his long hair.)

The meaning of the opening couplet is controversial. We follow the view that Horace's speaker is saying he no longer takes pleasure in writing verses *when* he is in love, rather than *because* he is in love (as Johnson probably interpreted it). Two years have passed since the speaker stopped loving Inachia, and he still feels ashamed at the gossip that affair occasioned. Now he is in love with Lyciscus, and the only remedy will be to fall in love with another girl or boy. The self-portrait of the hopelessly smitten and rejected lover owes something to sincere elegiac poetry, but Horace's poem contains self-mockery and parody, elements of the iambic genre of the *Epodes*.

The juvenile Johnson misjudges, or is unable to capture, Horace's self-mockery, and makes the tone more uniform, less edgy. Phrases such as 'the melodious lyre' and 'sacred

Sisters' are out of tune with the original. Characteristically, Johnson enhances Horace's moral indignation about the power of money (ll. 19–26 vs. Horace, ll. 11–12). But despite his imposition of stricter morality and evasion of Horace's first reference to boys and girls (ll. 3–4), Johnson does not bowdlerize the bisexuality at the end of the poem.

Johnson's ballad-like stanzas make a very different impression from Horace's continuous and metrically more complex couplets (iambic trimeter + half a dactylic pentameter and an iambic dimeter), with their peculiar, hybrid second line.

Horace Epode

Pettius, no more I verses write,
   My Bosom glows with fiercer fire;
No more I sing, no more delight
   To handle the melodious Lyre;
Venus, the sacred Sisters dispossest, 5
Invades my soul, & rages in my breast.

Thrice has December strip'd the tree
   And thrice deform'd the verdant year,
Since from Inachia's charms set free
   I first foresook the scornfull fair. 10
I then (my cheeks still glow with shame) was grown
The sport of Boys, and scandall of the town.

No feasts could e'er my cares dispell,
   Sighs issued from my heaving breast;
The pains I labour'd to conceal 15
   My silence and my groans confess'd.
Then when repeated bowls unlock'd the Heart,
To thee I told the causes of my smart.

¶**10** *1.* **Pettius** … **verses** *Yale*] Pethus … veres *Ross*
7. **strip'd** *Yale*] chip'd *Ross*

¶**10** ***1–6.*** SJ much expands Horace's confession, introducing a contrast between the power of Venus and the Muses (Slimp 1998: 116).

1. ***Pettius:*** unknown, perhaps fictitious.

5. ***sacred Sisters:*** the Muses; not in Horace. ***dispossest:*** having been displaced or ousted.

7. ***strip'd:*** defoliated.

9. ***Inachia:*** a prostitute (see ll. 20, 26); her Greek name is based on the mythical Inachus, king of Argos.

10. ***fair:*** beautiful woman.

17. ***bowls:*** of wine.

To thee I then with tears complain'd
That all the fair their favours sold; 20
No wit nor honesty could stand
Against th' omnipotence of Gold;
And wish'd my rising anger could remove
Those anxious fears that fan'd the flame of Love.

Then would I free from torments live 25
And quit Inachia's venal charms;
Nor with too powerfull Rivals strive,
But take another to my arms.
Thus I t' effect this mighty change design'd,
And 'gainst the pow'r of Venus steeld my mind. 30

But being counsell'd to go home
And see my Mistress' face no more,
Confus'd about the streets I roam
And stop'd unwilling at her door;
Then to the inclement skies expos'd I sat 35
And sigh'd and wept at her relentless gate.

Lyciscus whose soft arms excell
A Girl's, inflames me with desire;
Nor counsells nor reproach expell
The raging of the kindled fire, 40
But the next blooming virgin's beauteous face,
Or Boy, whose snowy neck the flowing ringlets grace.

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26. **quit** *Yale*] quite *Ross*

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26. ***venal:*** available for purchase.
28. Not in Horace.
35–36. SJ omits Horace's reference to 'hips' and 'side'.
36. ***relentless:*** 'unpitying; unmoved by kindness or tenderness' (*Dict.*, sense 1); Slimp (1998: 116) suggests an echo of Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard*, l. 17, 'Relentless walls'.
37. ***Lyciscus:*** a Greek boy's name meaning 'little wolf'.
41. ***But:*** except.

11

TRANSLATION FROM HOMER, *ILIAD*, BOOK 6

Composition and Publication

Johnson composed this school exercise either at Lichfield, *c.*1725, or at Stourbridge, 1726–27. We tentatively assign it to the later date on the assumption that Johnson read more Greek at Stourbridge. Its first appearance in print was in Boswell's *Life* (1791), 1.19 (*Life*, 1.53) but included only lines 60–89. Oxford, Yale, and Fleeman print the whole exercise.

Text

A transcript by James Ross is part of the Boswell Collection at Yale (Series 4, Life of Johnson, Papers Apart [M145], pp. 5–7). In his extract Boswell added punctuation to the transcript and filled in the proper names that Ross left blank. We extend this treatment to the part that Boswell neglected, silently correcting Ross's errors and supplying his omissions. We also silently add punctuation of the kind that was common in printed heroic couplets of this time and which appears in Johnson's finished autograph manuscripts from this period (for examples, see pp. 32 and 40 above). It is unknown what text of Homer Johnson used as a schoolboy. We print the text of a 1689 Cambridge edition of the *Iliad* that Johnson owned at the time of his death (Greene, p. 69; Fleeman, *Handlist* 2, no. 86).

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Models and Sources

Iliad, 6.390–502 is one of the most famous passages in Homer. This tender domestic scene stands out in an epic full of warfare and bloodshed. Though this is not their last meeting, the scene constitutes, in effect, Hector's farewell to his wife Andromache and son Astyanax. The irony is, of course, that Achilles will soon kill Hector; Andromache will be enslaved; and Astyanax, far from fulfilling his father's hopes, will be thrown to his death from the walls of Troy.

At 131 lines Johnson's version is longer than Homer (113 lines), as is almost inevitable, given the difference between Homer's dactylic hexameters and Johnson's iambic pentameters, but it is shorter than Pope's (160) or Dryden's (170) versions of the same passage (for the latter, see Dryden, *Works*, 4.425). As David Venturo points out (pp. 35–36), Johnson keeps things shorter by converting detail into general statements, as he so often does in his translations (see pp. 32–33 above). As an example, Venturo cites Hector's prayer for his son's future which Johnson dispatches in three lines (102–4), whereas it took Dryden nine (159–67) and Pope eight (606–13). Despite its relative concision, Johnson's version of this passage shares many of the features of both Pope's and Dryden's: all three, compared to Homer, are polished and ornate, and their heroic couplets make them self-consciously poetic. There are a few specific points at which Johnson seems to imitate Pope (see notes to ll. 1–2, 16–17, 62, 85, and 119–20; Slimp 1998: 122, 131 n. 24) and fewer at which he seems to follow Dryden (see notes to ll. 5–6 and 42–43; Slimp 1998: 131 n. 24).

Context

Johnson venerated Homer, without qualification, as he did no other author. In *Rambler* 92 he called him 'the father of all poetical beauty' (Yale, 4.123). He put the *Iliad* above *Don Quixote* (*Anecdotes*, p. 281; *Johns. Misc.*, 1.332–33) and *Paradise Lost* (Yale, 21.182); he even put Homer above Shakespeare (Yale, 7.83). He considered Pope's translation of Homer 'a performance which no age or nation can pretend to equal' (Yale, 23.1210), yet he confessed that 'it wants [Homer's] awful simplicity, his artless grandeur, his unaffected majesty' (23.1212). Johnson translated very short passages of Homer in the *Rambler* (nos. 65, 161) and the *Adventurer* (no. 80), but this is his longest known effort.

Homer, *Iliad*, 6.390–502

Ἦ ῥα γυνὴ ταμίη· ὁ δ᾽ ἀπέσσυτο δώματος Ἕκτωρ
Τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν αὖτις ἐϋκτιμένας κατ᾽ ἀγυιάς.
Εὖτε πύλας ἵκανε, διερχόμενος μέγα ἄστυ,
Σκαιὰς, (τῇ γὰρ ἔμελλε διεξίεναι πεδίονδε)
Ἔνθ᾽ ἄλοχος πολύδωρος ἐναντίη ἦλθε θέουσα — 5 (394)
Ἀνδρομάχη, θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἠετίωνος·
Ἠετίων, ὅς ἔναιεν Ὑποπλάκῳ ὑληέσσῃ,
Θήβῃ Ὑποπλακίῃ, Κιλίκεσσ᾽ ἄνδρεσσιν ἀνάσσων·
Τοῦ περ δὴ θυγάτηρ ἔχεθ᾽ Ἕκτορι χαλκοκορυστῇ·
Ἥ οἱ ἔπειτ᾽ ἤντησ᾽, ἅμα δ᾽ ἀμφίπολος κίεν αὐτῇ, — 10 (399)
Παῖδ᾽ ἐπὶ κόλπῳ ἔχουσ᾽ ἀταλάφρονα, νήπιον αὔτως,
Ἑκτορίδην ἀγαπητὸν, ἀλίγκιον ἀστέρι καλῷ·
Τόν ῥ᾽ Ἕκτωρ καλέεσκε Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι
Ἀστυάνακτ᾽. οἶος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἕκτωρ.
Ἤτοι ὁ μὲν μείδησεν ἰδὼν ἐς παῖδα σιωπῇ· — 15 (404)
Ἀνδρομάχη δέ οἱ ἄγχι παρίστατο δακρυχέουσα,
Ἔν τ᾽ ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρὶ, ἔπος τ᾽ ἔφατ᾽, ἔκ τ᾽ ὀνόμαζε,
  Δαιμόνιε, φθίσει σε τὸ σὸν μένος, οὐδ᾽ ἐλεαίρεις
Παῖδά τε νηπίαχον καὶ ἔμ᾽ ἄμμορον, ἣ τάχα χήρη
Σεῦ ἔσομαι· τάχα γάρ σε κατακτανέουσιν Ἀχαιοὶ, — 20 (409)

(So spoke the housekeeper, and Hector rushed from his house, retracing his way through the well-built streets. When he had passed through the great city and reached the Scaean Gates (for there he intended to cross the plain), his richly dowered wife came running to meet him—Andromache, the daughter of great-hearted Eëtion, Eëtion, who lived in wooded Hyperplacus, in Thebe-under-Placus, and ruled the Cilician people; it was his daughter whom bronze-armored Hector had as his wife. (10) She met him then, and with her came a handmaid holding in her bosom a tender-minded child, a mere innocent, the beloved son of Hector, resembling a beautiful star, whom Hector called Scamandrius but everyone else Astyanax; for Hector alone was protecting Troy. Then Hector smiled as he looked at the boy in silence; and Andromache stood close to him, letting fall a tear, and put her hand in his, and addressed him in these words: 'Come sir, your bravery will destroy you, and you have no pity for your poor little child and my wretched self, who soon will be bereft of you; (20) for soon the Achaeans, attacking in full force, will take your life;

¶11 ***1–2***. Cf. Pope's translation, ll. 488–89: '*Hector*, this heard, return'd without Delay; / Swift thro' the Town he trod his former way' (Slimp 1998: 122).

3. Scaean Gate: the main gate of Troy.

5–6. Like Dryden (ll. 32–33), SJ expands the praise of Andromache.

7. Cilicia: a region in Asia Minor

8. Hypoplacus: the Greek name means 'Below (Mount) Plakos'.

Translation of part of the Dialogue between HECTOR and ANDROMACHE; from the Sixth Book of HOMER'S ILIAD.

Hector, this heard without a Moments stay,
Back through the City trod his former way;
Soon as the chief approach'd the Scaean Gate,
About to rush into the field of fate,
He met Andromache his beauteous Wife, 5
Far dearer than his own or Fathers Life,
Whose sire Eëtion in Cilicia reign'd
Where Hypoplacus' lofty shades extend.
The Nurse attending bore a lovely Boy,
Pledge of their love and source of all their Joy, 10
By Hector call'd Scamandrius from the God
That laves proud Ilion with his rapid flood,
But call'd Astyanax because his Sire
Alone preserv'd the town from Grecian fire.
From Hector's breast each gloomy trouble flies 15
And secret pleasures sparkled in his eyes.
Mournfull Andromache the silence broke,
Her tears in shou'rs descending as she spoke:
  Why gen'rous warriour will you rashly run
On dangers which your safety bids you shun, 20

¶11 ***Title.*** **Translation** … **ILIAD** *Boswell 1791*] The Dialogue between Hector and Andromache from the sixth Book of the Iliad *Ross*

11. Scamandrius: after Scamander, the name of the Trojan river and its god.
12. laves: washes. ***Ilion:*** Troy.
13. Astyanax: 'Lord of the City' in Greek.
15–16. SJ elaborates on Homer (l. 404), as does Pope in this instance (ll. 504–5): 'Silent the Warrior smil'd, and pleas'd resign'd / To tender Passions all his mighty Mind'.
19–20. Cf. Pope, ll. 510–11, 'Too daring Prince! ah whither dost thou run? / Ah too forgetful of thy Wife and Son!' (Slimp 1998: 122).
19. gen'rous: noble; high-born.

Πάντες ἐφορμηθέντες· ἐμοὶ δέ κε κέρδιον εἴη
Σεῦ ἀφαμαρτούσῃ χθόνα δύμεναι. οὐ γὰρ ἔτ᾽ ἄλλη
Ἔσται θαλπωρὴ, ἐπεὶ ἂν σύγε πότμον ἐπίσπῃς,
Ἀλλ᾽ ἄχε᾽. οὐδέ μοι ἔστι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ.
Ἤτοι γὰρ πατέρ᾽ ἁμὸν ἀπέκτανε δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς, 25 (414)
Ἐκ δὲ πόλιν πέρσεν Κιλίκων εὖ ναιετάουσαν,
Θήβην ὑψίπυλον· κατὰ δ᾽ ἔκτανεν Ἠετίωνα,
Οὐδέ μιν ἐξενάριξε· σεβάσσατο γὰρ τό γε θυμῷ·
Ἀλλ᾽ ἄρα μιν κατέκηε σὺν ἔντεσι δαιδαλέοισιν,
Ἠδ᾽ ἐπὶ σῆμ᾽ ἔχεεν· περὶ δὲ πτελέας ἐφύτευσαν 30 (419)
Νύμφαι ὀρεστιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.
Οἳ δέ μοι ἑπτὰ κασίγνητοι ἔσαν ἐν μεγάροισιν,
Οἱ μὲν πάντες ἰῷ κίον ἤματι ἄϊδος εἴσω·
Πάντας γὰρ κατέπεφνε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς,
Βουσὶν ἐπ᾽ εἰλιπόδεσσι καὶ ἀργεννῇς ὀΐεσσι. 35 (424)
Μητέρα δ᾽, ἣ βασίλευεν Ὑποπλάκῳ ὑληέσσῃ,
Τὴν ἐπεὶ ἂρ δεῦρ᾽ ἤγαγ᾽ ἅμ᾽ ἄλλοισι κτεάτεσσιν,
Ἂψ ὅγε τὴν ἀπέλυσε λαβὼν ἀπερείσι᾽ ἄποινα·
Πατρὸς δ᾽ ἐν μεγάροισι βάλ᾽ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα.
Ἕκτορ, ἀτὰρ σύ μοί ἐσσι πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ, 40 (429)
Ἠδὲ κασίγνητος, σὺ δέ μοι θαλερὸς παρακοίτης·

but for me it would be better to sink into the earth if I lose you; for no other comfort will remain when once you meet your fate, but only sorrows. I have no father and honored mother. For godlike Achilles killed my father and sacked the well-settled city of the Cilicians, high-gated Thebe. He killed Eëtion but did not strip off his armor, for he shrank from that in his heart. But he cremated him with his well-wrought arms and raised a mound above him; (30) and around it the mountain nymphs, the daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus, planted elms. But as for the seven brothers I had within our halls, they all entered the house of Hades on the same day. For swift-footed godlike Achilles slew them all among their shambling cattle and white sheep. My mother, who was queen in wooded Hyperplacus, he brought here along with other spoils but released her for a countless ransom, and Artemis the archer struck her down in her father's halls. (40) But Hector, you are my father and honored mother and my brother, and you my vigorous husband.

Forgetfull of your Wife, forgetfull of your Son?
Soon shall you fall by num'rous Hosts opprest,
And Grecian spears shall quiver in your Breast;
But, Ah! before arise that hapless day
May I lye cold beneath a Load of Clay. 25
While Hector lives I tast of ev'ry Joy;
With Hectors life away my pleasures fly.
My Father fell by fierce Achilles' hand,
Whose direfull rage destroy'd my native land.
Pleas'd with the conquest, he forbore the spoil 30
And Burnt him decent on a funerall pile.
The Nymphs bewail'd his fall with loud Lament
And planted Elms around his Monument.
By that dire sword my sev'n brave Brothers dy'd;
All stemm'd in one sad day the Stygian Tyde. 35
Among their flocks the blooming Heroes fell
And stain'd with blood Pelides' vengefull steel.
My Mother who alone escap'd the grave
The victor hither brought, A royall Slave;
Soon as with Gold appeas'd, He set her free 40
To tast again the sweets of Liberty,
Provok'd Diana with a vengefull Dart
Ended her wretched life and pierc'd her heart;

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28. Father: Eëtion, king of Thebe in the Troad***. Achilles,*** the foremost Greek hero at Troy, slew Eëtion at Thebe and Hector at Troy.

31. Cf. Pope, l. 529, 'And lay'd him decent on the Fun'ral Pyle' (Slimp 1998: 122).

32. Nymphs: divinities of nature.

35. stemm'd: crossed against the current; cf. *Irene*, 3.10.28. ***Stygian Tyde:*** the river Styx, which encircles the underworld.

37. Pelides: Achilles, son of Peleus.

42–43. SJ expands Homer's account of the death of Andromache's mother (l. 428), as does Dryden (ll. 80–81): 'for soon *Diana*'s Dart / In an unhappy Chace transfix'd her Heart'.

42. Diana: the Roman equivalent of Greek Artemis, an archer goddess. By saying that the mother was shot by Artemis Homer simply means that she died a sudden death, but SJ interprets it as an act of retribution.

Ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε νῦν ἐλέαιρε, καὶ αὐτοῦ μίμν᾽ ἐπὶ πύργῳ,
Μὴ παῖδ᾽ ὀρφανικὸν θείης χήρην τε γυναῖκα·
Λαὸν δὲ στῆσον παρ᾽ ἐρινεὸν, ἔνθα μάλιστα
Ἄμβατός ἐστι πόλις, καὶ ἐπίδρομον ἔπλετο τεῖχος. 45 (434)
Τρὶς γὰρ τῇγ᾽ ἐλθόντες ἐπειρήσανθ᾽ οἱ ἄριστοι,
Ἀμφ᾽ Αἴαντε δύω καὶ ἀγακλυτὸν Ἰδομενῆα,
Ἠδ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ Ἀτρείδας, καὶ Τυδέος ἄλκιμον υἱόν.
Ἤ που τις σφὶν ἔνισπε θεοπροπίων εὖ εἰδὼς,
Ἤ νυ καὶ αὐτῶν θυμὸς ἐποτρύνει καὶ ἀνώγει. 50 (439)
Τὴν δ᾽ αὖτε προσέειπε μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ,
Ἦ καὶ ἐμοὶ τάδε πάντα μέλει γύναι· ἀλλὰ μάλ᾽ αἰνῶς
Αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους,
Αἴκε κακὸς ὣς νόσφιν ἀλυσκάζω πολέμοιο·
Οὐδέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν, ἐπεὶ μάθον ἔμμεναι ἐσθλὸς 55 (444)
Αἰεὶ, καὶ πρώτοισι μετὰ Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι,
Ἀρνύμενος πατρός τε μέγα κλέος ἠδ᾽ ἐμὸν αὐτοῦ.
Εὖ μὲν γὰρ τόδε οἶδα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμὸν,
Ἔσσεται ἦμαρ, ὅτ᾽ ἄν ποτ᾽ ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ,
Καὶ Πρίαμος, καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίου Πριάμοιο. 60 (449)

Come now, have pity on me, and remain here on the tower, so as not to orphan your son and make your wife a widow. Station the army near the wild fig tree, where the city is most easily scaled and the wall can be overrun. For three times the best men have made an attempt at that spot, in company with the two Ajaxes and glorious Idomeneus, and the sons of Atreus, and the mighty son of Tydeus; either someone skilled in prophecy told them, (50) or their own spirit stirs and commands them.' Great Hector of the flashing helmet answered her: 'All these things concern me too, my wife. But I feel keenly ashamed before the Trojans and the Trojan women in their trailing robes, if, like a coward, I stay far from the battle. Nor does my spirit command it, since I have learned to be always upright and fight along with the foremost Trojans, securing great glory for my father and myself. For in my heart and mind I am well aware that the day will come when sacred Troy will perish (60) together with Priam and the people of Priam of the ashen spear.

54. Atridae: the sons of Atreus: Agamemnon, leader of the Greeks, and Menelaus, husband of Helen. ***Tydeus' mighty Son:*** the Greek hero Diomedes.

55. Idomeneus: a Greek hero from Crete. ***Telamon:*** not a character in the *Iliad*; Homer says 'the two Ajaxes', and the 'greater' Ajax elsewhere has the epithet 'Telamonian' (son of Telamon). SJ's choice is metrically convenient but also displays his learning.

60. kind: courteously.

But dearest Hector, while thou liv'st I see
A Father, Brother, Husband all in thee; 45
Rush not impetuous to the bloody fray
Nor tempt the dangers of this deathfull day.
Think shouldst thou fall how wretched shall we be,
A Widow I, an helpless Orphan he.
Within the town assemble all thy powers 50
And man the walls and fortifie the tow'rs.
Where the wild fig trees join their darksom shade
The Bravest of the Greeks the wall invade;
Th' Atridae there and Tydeus' mighty Son,
Idomeneus, and Godlike Telamon 55
Thrice to the wall their dreadfull Hosts have led,
And thrice to mount the Battlements assay'd;
Whether urg'd on by Seers from Heav'n inspir'd
Or their own Souls with hopes of Vict'ry fir'd.
  She ceas'd, then Godlike Hector answer'd kind, 60
His various plumage sporting in the wind:
  That post, and all the rest shall be my care,
But shall I then forsake th' unfinish'd war?
How would the Trojans brand great Hector's name!
And one base action sully all my fame, 65
Acquir'd by wounds, and Battles bravely fought!
Oh! how my soul abhors so mean a thought.
Long since I learn'd to slight this fleeting breath,
And view with chearfull eyes approaching death.
Th' inexorable Sisters have decreed 70
That Priam's house, and Priam's self shall bleed:

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61. Homer gives Hector only the epithet 'of the flashing helmet' (l. 440), where SJ makes a dramatic gesture. Neither Pope nor Dryden mention the helmet at this point. ***various:*** varied in color; variegated.

62. post (military duty or station) is borrowed from Pope (l. 560; Slimp 1998: 131 n. 24); there is no equivalent in Homer or Dryden.

69. There is no equivalent for the stoical thought in this line in Homer, Dryden, or Pope.

70. Sisters: the Fates.

71. Priam: king of Troy.

Ἀλλ᾽ οὔ μοι Τρώων τόσσον μέλει ἄλγος ὀπίσσω,
Οὔτ᾽ αὐτῆς Ἑκάβης, οὔτε Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος,
Οὔτε κασιγνήτων, οἵ κεν πολέες τε καὶ ἐσθλοὶ
Ἐν κονίῃσι πέσοιεν ὑπ᾽ ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσιν,
Ὅσσον σεῦ, ὅτε κέν τις Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων 65 (454)
Δακρυόεσσαν ἄγηται, ἐλεύθερον ἦμαρ ἀπούρας,
Καί κεν ἐν Ἄργει ἐοῦσα, πρὸς ἄλλης ἱστὸν ὑφαίνοις,
Καί κεν ὕδωρ φορέοις Μεσσηΐδος, ἢ Ὑπερείης,
Πόλλ᾽ ἀεκαζομένη· κρατερὴ δ᾽ ἐπικείσετ᾽ ἀνάγκη.
Καί ποτέ τις εἴπῃσιν ἰδὼν κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσαν, 70 (459)
Ἕκτορος ἥδε γυνὴ, ὃς ἀριστεύεσκε μάχεσθαι
Τρώων ἱπποδάμων, ὅτε Ἴλιον ἀμφεμάχοντο.
Ὥς ποτέ τις ἐρέει· σοὶ δ᾽ αὖ νέον ἔσσεται ἄλγος
Χήτει τοιοῦδ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἀμύνειν δούλιον ἦμαρ.
Ἀλλά με τεθνειῶτα χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτοι, 75 (464)
Πρίν γ᾽ ἔτι σῆς τε βοῆς, σοῦ θ᾽ ἑλκηθμοῖο πυθέσθαι.
Ὣς εἰπὼν οὗ παιδὸς ὀρέξατο φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ·
Ἂψ δ᾽ ὁ πάϊς πρὸς κόλπον ἐϋζώνοιο τιθήνης
Ἐκλίνθη ἰάχων, πατρὸς φίλου ὄψιν ἀτυχθεὶς,
Ταρβήσας χαλκόν τε ἰδὲ λόφον ἱππιοχαίτην, 80 (469)

But I am not so troubled by the grief that will befall the Trojans, or Hecuba, or lord Priam, or my brothers, many and excellent, who might fall in the dust at the hands of their enemies, as I am for yours, when one of the bronze-armored Achaeans leads you away in tears, depriving you of your day of liberty. And then in Argos perhaps you will work the loom at another woman's bidding and carry water from the spring of Messeis or Hypereia, much against your will, but borne down by strong necessity. (70) And perhaps someone seeing you crying will say, "This is the wife of Hector, who was the best of the horse-taming Trojans at fighting, when they fought around Troy." So someone will say: and for you fresh grief will arise, for lack of a man like me to ward off the day of slavery. But may a mound of earth cover my dead body before I hear your cries as they drag you away.' With these words, glorious Hector reached for his son; but the boy shrank back screaming into the bosom of his well-girdled nurse, distraught by the sight of his dear father (80) and fearful of the bronze and the crest of horse's hair,

The day will come, in which proud Troy shall yield,
And spread its smoaking ruins o'er the field,
Yet Hecuba's, nor Priam's hoary age,
Whose blood shall quench some Grecian's thirsty rage, 75
Nor my brave Brothers that have bit the Ground,
Their souls dismiss'd through many a ghastly Wound,
Can in my bosom half that grief create,
As the sad thought of your impending fate:
When some proud Grecian Dame shall tasks impose, 80
Mimick your tears, and ridicule your woes;
Beneath Hyperia's waters shall you sweat,
And, fainting, scarce support the liquid weight:
Then shall some Argive loud insulting cry,
Behold the wife of Hector, guard of Troy! 85
Tears, at my name, shall drown those beauteous eyes,
And that fair Bosom heave with rising sighs!
Before that day, by some brave Hero's hand,
May I lye slain and spurn the Bloody sand.
Hector, this speaking with extended hand, 90
From the fair Nurse Astyanax demands.

74. Hecuba: wife of Priam, King of Troy.

82. Hyperia: a spring, from which Andromache will carry water as a slave.

84. Argive: Greek; a Homeric name.

85. Cf. Pope, 'Behold the mighty *Hector*'s Wife!' (l. 585).

86–87. There is no precedent in Homer, Dryden, or Pope for this image of Andromache's flooded eyes and heaving bosom.

Δεινὸν ἀπ᾽ ἀκροτάτης κόρυθος νεύοντα νοήσας·
Ἐκ δ᾽ ἐγέλασσε πατήρ τε φίλος, καὶ πότνια μήτηρ.
Αὐτίκ᾽ ἀπὸ κρατὸς κόρυθ᾽ εἵλετο φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ,
Καὶ τὴν μὲν κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ παμφανόωσαν,
Αὐτὰρ ὅγ᾽ ὃν φίλον υἱὸν ἐπεὶ κύσε πῆλέ τε χερσὶν, 85 (474)
Εἶπεν ἐπευξάμενος Διΐ τ᾽ ἄλλοισί τε θεοῖσι,
Ζεῦ ἄλλοι τε θεοὶ, δότε δὴ καὶ τόνδε γενέσθαι
Παῖδ᾽ ἐμὸν, ὡς καὶ ἐγώ περ, ἀριπρεπέα Τρώεσσιν,
Ὧδε βίην τ᾽ ἀγαθόν, καὶ Ἰλίου ἶφι ἀνάσσειν·
Καί ποτέ τις εἴπῃσι, Πατρός γ᾽ ὅγε πολλὸν ἀμείνων, 90 (479)
Ἐκ πολέμου ἀνιόντα. φέροι δ᾽ ἔναρα βροτόεντα,
Κτείνας δήϊον ἄνδρα, χαρείη δὲ φρένα μήτηρ.
Ὣς εἰπὼν, ἀλόχοιο φίλης ἐν χερσὶν ἔθηκε
Παῖδ᾽ ἑόν· ἡ δ᾽ ἄρα μιν κηώδεϊ δέξατο κόλπῳ,
Δακρυόεν γελάσασα. πόσις δ᾽ ἐλέησε νοήσας, 95 (484)
Χειρί τέ μιν κατέρεξεν, ἔπος τ᾽ ἔφατ᾽, ἔκ τ᾽ ὀνόμαζε,
Δαιμονίη, μή μοι τι λίην ἀκαχίζεο θυμῷ·
Οὐ γάρ τις μ᾽ ὑπὲρ αἶσαν ἀνὴρ ἄϊδι προϊάψει.
Μοῖραν δ᾽ οὔ τινά φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν,
Οὐ κακὸν, οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλὸν, ἐπὴν τὰ πρῶτα γένηται. 100 (489)

when he noticed it nodding terribly from the top of his helmet. But his father and honored mother laughed, and immediately glorious Hector removed the helmet from his head and placed it, shining brightly, on the ground. Then he kissed his dear son and rocked him in his arms, and he spoke in prayer to Zeus and the other gods: 'Zeus and all the other gods, grant that this son of mine, just like me, may win renown among the Trojans, be as excellent in strength, and mightily rule over Troy. (90) And one day someone will say of him, as he returns from battle, "He is far better than his father", and may he bring back the bloody spoils of an enemy he has killed, and his mother rejoice in heart.' Saying this, he placed his son into his dear wife's hands; she received him in her fragrant bosom, smiling as she wept. Her husband noticed and took pity, and stroking her with his hand, he addressed her with these words: 'Come now, do not grieve too much in your heart. For no one will send me to Hades before it is destined, and no man, I say, has ever escaped his fate, (100) whether he is good or bad, when once he is born.

The child starts back affrighted at the Blaze
Of light reflected from the polish'd brass,
And in his Nurse's bosom hides his face.
The Parents smil'd, the Chief his helm unbound 95
And plac'd the beamy terror on the ground;
Then kist his Son and raising to the Skies
In fervent prayer addrest the Deities:
  Immortal Gods! and thou allmighty Jove
That reign'st supreme among the Pow'rs above, 100
Propitious hear my prayers: protect the Boy,
Grant him like me to guard the walls of Troy;
Let distant regions echo with his name
And his more glorious acts eclipse his Father's fame.
May then his Mother's heart with joys o'erflow, 105
And may she ne'er returning sorrows know.
  The Chief, this spoke, into the Mother's arms
Returns his child; she views his infant charms,
Tumultuous passions strugle in her breast,
And joy and sorrow stand by turns confest. 110
This Hector saw, his soul was touch'd with grief;
He grasp'd her hand endeav'ring kind relief:
  Ah! let not tears down that fair count'nance rowl;
Restrain your sorrows, calm your troubled soul.
Your sighs are spent in vain; if fates withstand, 115
Hector shall perish by no warriours hand;
But if by their irrevocable doom
My death is now decreed, my death will come.

92–94. A triplet with inexact but 'allowable' rhyme (see Preface, p. xxii). They are not uncommon in SJ's juvenilia, though he never used them in his mature verse. They are much more common in Dryden than Pope, particularly the mature Pope (see p. 21n above).

96. Cf. Pope, l. 601, 'And plac'd the beaming Helmet on the Ground' (Slimp 1998: 131 n. 24).

99. Jove: Jupiter, the Roman equivalent of Greek Zeus, king of the gods.

104. '***glorious acts***' hides Hector's wish for 'bloody spoils, after killing an enemy' (ll. 480–81). Dryden avoids even the euphemism, but Pope does not shy away from Homer, saying (l. 611), 'Of Heroes slain he bears the reeking Spoils'.

109–110. SJ generalizes both the tears and the smile that make Homer's image of Andromache at this moment so memorable (l. 484). Pope (l. 621) and Dryden (l. 173), like Homer, put tears and smiles in a single line.

112. In Homer it is Hector's hand, and he uses it to soothe his wife (l. 485). Pope (l. 623) and Dryden (l. 175) have Hector drying Andromache's tears.

113. rowl: roll.

117. their irrevocable doom: cf. Dryden's *Aeneis*, 9.126: 'Fate's irrevocable Doom'.

Ἀλλ᾽ εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σαυτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε,
Ἱστόν τ᾽ ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
Ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· πόλεμος δ᾽ ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει
Πᾶσιν (ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα) τοὶ Ἰλίῳ ἐγγεγάασιν.
  Ὣς ἄρα φωνήσας κόρυθ᾽ εἵλετο φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ 105 (494)
Ἵππουριν· ἄλοχος δὲ φίλη οἶκόν δε βεβήκει
Ἐντροπαλιζομένη, θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα.
Αἶψα δ᾽ ἔπειθ᾽ ἵκανε δόμους εὖ ναιετάοντας
Ἕκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο· κιχήσατο δ᾽ ἔνδοθι πολλὰς
Ἀμφιπόλους, τῇσιν δὲ γόον πάσῃσιν ἐνῶρσεν. 110 (499)
Αἱ μὲν ἔτι ζωὸν γόον Ἕκτορα ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ·
Οὐ γάρ μιν ἔτ᾽ ἔφαντο ὑπότροπον ἐκ πολέμοιο
Ἵξεσθαι, προφυγόντα μένος καὶ χεῖρας Ἀχαιῶν.

But go home and attend to your own work, the loom and distaff, and direct your servants to carry out their tasks. War will be the concern of men, all men who were born in Troy, but especially me.' Having said this, glorious Hector picked up his horse-tailed helmet, and his dear wife went back home, often turning around and shedding heavy tears. Then quickly she reached the well-built halls of man-slaying Hector, and found her many handmaids within, (110) and stirred up wailing among them all. In his own house, these women wailed for Hector while he still lived; for they said that he would never return again from battle, having escaped the mighty hands of the Achaeans.)